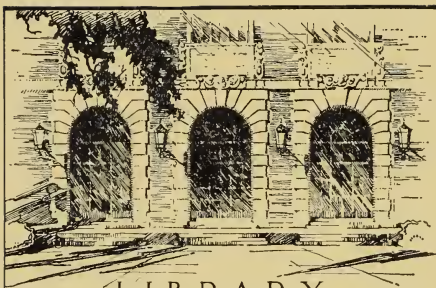


T. N. HASSELQUIST




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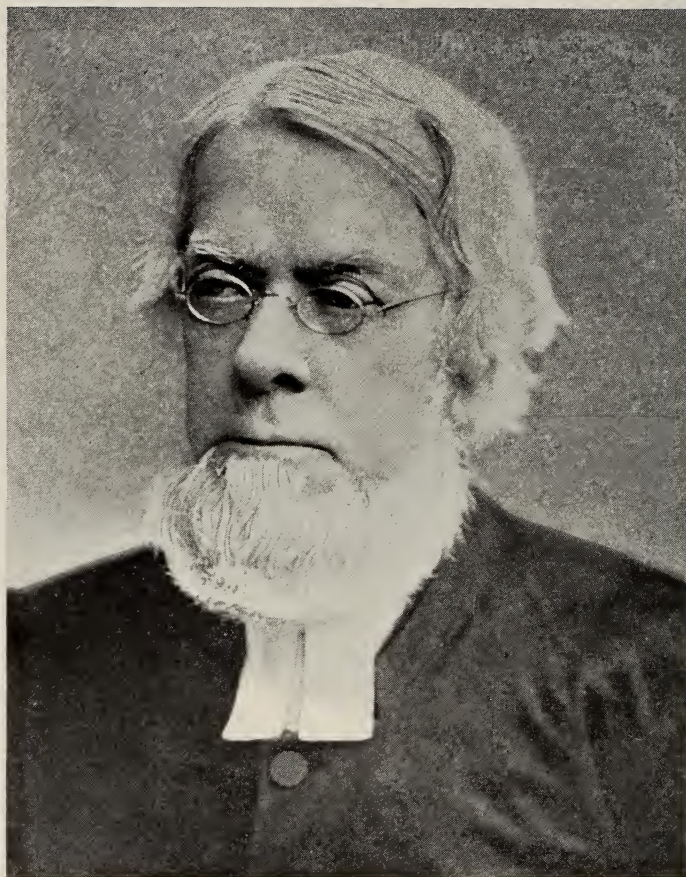
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*The Career and Influence of a Swedish-American
Clergyman, Journalist and Educator*



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OSCAR FRITIOF ANDER, Ph. D.

Associate Professor of History
Augustana College



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ANNOUNCEMENT

The Augustana Historical Society was organized at Augustana College and Theological Seminary in June, 1930. The object of this society as stated in its constitution is 'to collect and preserve documents, publications, correspondence, and objects of historical interest of the Scandinavians in America and of the religious movements among them, especially of the Augustana Synod, and of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in general; likewise to encourage historical research and publication.'

The collection of historical material along the lines indicated above was begun more than seventy-five years ago. It is, however, during the past forty years that special efforts have been made along this line. There is therefore today a very large and valuable collection of historical material, consisting of periodicals, weeklies, monthlies, quarterlies, and annuals; other publications, books, pamphlets, minutes of synods and conferences, catalogs of institutions, reports, etc.; various written documents and letters.

Most of these vast collections have, however, not been classified or cataloged. It is the purpose of the Historical Society to continue these collections, to solicit the coöperation of all friends throughout the country in this work, to complete the classifying and cataloging of the collections so as to make them available for research work, and finally to encourage historical research work by publishing from time to time the results of such efforts.

The present volume is No. I of the publications of the Augustana Historical Society, and we solicit for it a favorable reception especially among the friends of the Augustana Synod, in the early days of which Dr. Hasselquist was beyond question the foremost figure.

C. W. Foss,
President of the Augustana Historical Society.

PREFACE

The importance of Immigration in American History has been recognized, and Courses in Immigration are now offered in Departments of History and Sociology in a considerable number of American colleges and universities. This emphasis has quite naturally led to an enrichment of literature upon this subject in which the immigrant churches and their leaders have a significant place. Of these leaders, T. N. Hasselquist has the distinction of being one of the founders of the Swedish Lutheran Augustana Synod, which is one of the very few, if not the only Protestant Immigrant Church body, that has remained united from its organization to the present time.

There is an abundant amount of source material on the History of the Augustana Synod, most of which is not yet organized or indexed. Dr. C. W. Foss, Head of the History Department of Augustana College, has given his spare time over a long period of years to the laborious task of collecting and preserving the Swedish-American newspapers. Too much appreciation cannot be shown Dr. Foss, for it is, without doubt, the best Swedish Newspaper Collection in America, and therefore very valuable. The late Rev. Eric Norelius is responsible for the collection of thousands of the letters which are to be found in the archives of the Denkmann Memorial Library of Augustana College. I am grateful to Dr. I. O. Nothstein, librarian, for permission to use this collection, and to Mr. J. G. Youngquist for permission to work in the archives of the Augustana Book Concern, as well as to the librarian of the Minnesota Historical Society, who made the collection of that society available to me. Part of the summer of 1929 was spent at the Royal Library in Stockholm. The Swedish-American Newspaper Collection found in this library, perhaps the best one of its kind in the world, is largely the result of the work of T. N. Hasselquist, who for decades sent a copy of every Swedish-American newspaper published to the library in Stockholm.

The perfect organization, the bibliographical guide, and the efficient service of the library force made the work in Stockholm a real pleasure.

I wish to express my sincerest appreciation to all who have assisted me in the work of this thesis. Prof L. M. Larson, Head of the History Department of the University of Illinois, has through his knowledge and interest in the Scandinavians in America given me much aid and encouragement. I am greatly indebted to Prof. M. L. Hansen, Professor of History at the University of Illinois, for his helpful guidance and sound counsel. Prof. Hansen has given hours of his valuable time in reading and criticizing the manuscript. Prof. C. W. Foss, Head of the History Department at Augustana College, has read and criticized both the first and last manuscripts. The completion of the thesis at this date would not have been possible without the able assistance of my wife, Ruth Elizabeth Ander, who throughout the preparation of the dissertation has been my appreciated coworker. The works of Dean Babcock of the University of Illinois and of Prof. George Stephenson of the University of Minnesota have been of great value in supplying the basis for a bibliography. I also wish to thank the Augustana Historical Society and the Board of Directors of Augustana College who have made possible the publication of this thesis.

O. F. A.

Augustana College, November, 1931.



AN EARLY PICTURE OF T. N. HASSELQUIST

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CHAPTER I

HASSELQUIST IN SWEDEN, HIS EMIGRATION, AND THE CON- DITION OF THE SWEDISH LUTHERAN CHURCH ON HIS ARRIVAL

Tufve Nilsson Hasselquist was born on March 2, 1816, in the parish of Ousby, which is situated on the borders of the little sheet of water called Ousby Lake, in the province of Scania. His father was a thrifty farmer of moderate means; both of his parents were deeply devout, and the Christian atmosphere of the home must have stamped its influence upon the son.¹ There is nothing unusual about his childhood. Although the first act providing for compulsory education (the Ecclesiastical Law of 1686) was not very effective, and the first common school statute was not passed until 1842,² the boy was taught to read and write. Dr. Collin, the provost of the parish, made it his custom to encourage confirmation classes to write themes, and when an older brother was engaged in this task, Tufve also wrote a theme. His brother brought this composition to the provost, who became deeply interested in the young Tufve, and determined to persuade the parents to send their son to Kristianstad to be educated. Dr. Collin finally prevailed upon them to do so, and the boy spent two years at Kristianstad, and continued his studies at Lund where he was graduated in 1835.³ His life as a student was not always pleasant. It was the universal story of an ambitious student, with very little pecuniary backing, but anxious to obtain an education. Later in life he wrote about these struggles: "When I attended school, I had to be satisfied with a little butter on coarse bread, and as a graduate student at Lund, often with even less than that."⁴ In order to continue his studies, he was forced to tutor, and with

¹ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 9-10.

² Sundbärg, Sweden, Its People and Its Industry, pp. 287-288.

³ Norelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

⁴ Hasselquist to Jonas Swensson, Paxton, Ill., March 24, 1864.

this assistance he completed his theological studies and was ordained a minister in the State Church of Sweden by Bishop Wilhelm Foxe.¹

His future was now assured; he had received an education not general in Sweden at that time, and it was indeed a happy though not unusual circumstance that he, a farmer's son, had become a minister in the State Church. He had now obtained a position which meant prominence, a good social standing, and the comforts of life. One cannot but wonder what caused this man to sacrifice country, home, and comforts for the uncertainties and hardships of the American prairies.² Very little is known about the activities of Hasselquist in Sweden. He does not seem to have been very anxious to relate his experiences even to his intimate friend and subsequent biographer, the Rev. E. Norelius. Due to lack of other evidence, this work of Norelius must be depended upon in dealing with this phase of Hasselquist's career. It is true that a number of his sermons are preserved, but, although they might throw some light upon the subject, it would be extremely difficult for a layman to determine his theological beliefs from this source alone.

At the age of twenty-three, Hasselquist was sent to serve in the parishes of Efverlöf and Glemminge. It was customary for the Diocese to send the pastors wherever they were needed, until they advanced to the position of provost. Therefore, Hasselquist did not remain at Efverlöf very long, after two years being sent to Kristianstad. Here, too, he remained but a short time, though perhaps long enough to be influenced by a "religious awakening" within the parish. The young pastor had as yet succeeded in making himself known only to the few who came in personal contact with him. He has been accused of preaching heresy, but if he did so at this time, it undoubtedly passed unnoticed. It is likely that he, himself, was not aware of this heresy, and the accusation is based largely on the fact that Hasselquist's sermons were not clear. Being poorly organized, it was

¹ Norelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

² Olson, *The Swedish Element in Illinois*, p. 127.

natural that they could be misunderstood.¹ These early sermons show a pietistic tendency,² which might have been caused by his home training or by one of the religious movements prevalent in Sweden at this time. However, there is no evidence that he became closely connected with any such movement until he was sent to Glimåkra and Örkened. Here he came under the influence of the Rev. Axel Theodore Gustavson, a strict disciple of Schartau. The two men became very good friends. Rev. P. A. Cederstam, who was then a boy of fourteen and a member of one of Hasselquist's congregations, recalls that Hasselquist was generally considered a very strict pietist and a powerful speaker who not only preached on Sundays, but appeared during the week at meetings held outside the parish. Due to his work, a revival took place within the neighboring parishes, as well as in his own. "The ungodly were so afraid of the young pietistic pastor that they scarcely dared to meet him on the streets. In his pastoral visitations, he was very strict; all, both young and old, had to recite the catechism. Before Hasselquist's time, it had been customary to have a sort of market day on Sunday, and all sorts of wares were sold near the churches." But Hasselquist could not tolerate this violation of the Sabbath and changed the market day to a week day so that the people might give undivided attention to the Sunday services.³ As time passed, he gained in popularity and the peasants walked long distances to hear the young and enthusiastic preacher.⁴

Hasselquist had noticed the evil effects of the excessive drinking of intoxicating liquor indulged in by the Swedish people. In order to secure revenue, Gustavus III had made the manufacture of spirits a state monopoly, and drinking was encouraged for financial reasons. The dangers inherent in this policy were not realized until 1789 when the state monopoly was abolished. But this well-intentioned move could not check the excessive use of alcohol which had received such an impetus through royal encouragement and

¹ Norelius, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-14.

² Hasselquist's sermons for April 13, 1840, and April 26, 1840. (In manuscript.)

³ Nothstein, *My Church*, Vol. 1, pp. 11-12.

⁴ *Hemlandet*, Feb. 5, 1891.

sanction. By 1830, the Swedish people were annually consuming twenty liters per inhabitant. This condition aroused Dr. P. Wieselgren, who began a temperance crusade.¹ Hasselquist, who was in full sympathy with the movement, came to the assistance of the Swedish Apostle of Temperance, and the two were often seen together, touring the various parts of Scania, speaking for the cause.²

At Glimåkra, Hasselquist remained only three years, being sent to Önnestad as assistant to the provost Nordstrom. The provost is reported to have expressed fear when the calling of Hasselquist was first suggested. Up to that time, he said, peace had reigned in Önnestad and he feared that Hasselquist's presence would mean strife and turmoil. But the appointment was made and due to the age and ill health of the provost, all of the pastoral work fell upon the shoulders of Hasselquist. He also came in close contact with Hans Birger Hammar, and several teachers in the neighboring city of Kristianstad, as well as with Dr. Bergman at Winslof. These new friends were hostile to the State Church, and in sympathy with a movement to establish a Free Church modeled upon the Free Church of Scotland.³ The next change in location brought Hasselquist to Åkarp, where he continued his work along the same lines: improving the moral conditions in his parish, preaching the gospel of repentance with vigor and encouraging temperance and sobriety. In the meantime he continued his friendly relations with Hammar, Bergman, and others of the pietistic group.⁴

Hasselquist had now become known as a pietist and a reformer,⁵ and he had won a great deal of recognition for his ability as a preacher and a lecturer. He took part in debates, spoke against existing evils within the State Church and publicly defended the Free Church movement.⁶ He had

¹ Sundbärg, Sweden, Its People and Its Industry, pp. 276-277.

² Nothstein, My Church, Vol. I, p. 11.

³ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 17-18; Interview with Prof. George Stephenson, Jan. 4, 1930.

⁴ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 20.

⁵ Stephenson, "The Background to the Beginning of the Swedish Immigration," American Historical Review, Vol. 31, p. 711.

⁶ Hemlandet, Dec. 3, 1857.

passed from the influence of Schartau and had become, not an orthodox Lutheran, but a strict pietist. He coöperated with Hans Birger Hammar in the publication of a paper called *Evangelisk Kyrkovän* and, as this was the organ of the "Society for the Advancement of Religious Freedom," it can be taken for granted that Hasselquist was also a member of the Society.¹ It was at this time that Hasselquist's radical belief in the separation of Church and State reached its peak. This had not been caused by pietism alone, but the influence which Hammar exercised over Hasselquist was an important factor.² He had adopted certain definite ideas and to these he clung tenaciously. He was not in sympathy with the Ahnfelt movement, according to tradition, at one time preventing Ahnfelt from delivering a lecture which was scheduled to be given in a schoolhouse, compelling Ahnfelt to be the listener instead of the speaker. As he did not recommend the paper, *Pietisten*, he was regarded as a preacher of law instead of grace. Yet it is impossible to identify him definitely with any of the religious groups so active in Sweden at this time.³

The extent of Hasselquist's radicalism has never been pointed out, but it may explain his silence in later life in regard to his career in Sweden. As the years went by, he became more and more conservative. But he certainly could not have forgotten that one of his friends in Sweden was P. H. A. Roentgen, pastor of a Moravian congregation, and that shortly before he left Sweden, he delivered a "farewell address" to the "Brethren" in Bergström's Hall in Helsingborg. Nor could it have been possible that Hasselquist should have forgotten that he brought a letter of recommendation to the Rev. David Bigler, pastor of a Moravian congregation in New York⁴. In view of all this, one wonders whether there may not have been some element of truth in the assertion of *Svenska Kuriren* that Hasselquist

¹ Stephenson, op cit. In an article in Lunds Stifts Julbok, 1930, T. N. Hasselquist is mentioned as one of the original founders of the Society.

² Interview with Prof. George Stephenson, Jan. 4, 1930.

³ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 19. A discussion of these groups and the personalities connected with them lies outside of this dissertation.

⁴ Roentgen to Hasselquist, Gothenburg, Ill., Feb. 18, 1856.

left Sweden because his prospects for promotion were not bright.¹ His ideas were so well known that even after he had emigrated, some of the Swedish Lutheran pastors feared that his "reformed views" would prove destructive to the work of their church in America.²

It was in 1849, that he met for the first time the Rev. L. P. Esbjorn, just as the latter was about to embark for America in a company made up of some of his parishioners and a few others.³ It is likely that Hasselquist's radicalism developed after 1849 as on this occasion he expressed no desire or willingness to leave Sweden with Esbjorn.⁴ However, in 1852 a call was extended to him from a congregation in Galesburg, Illinois. This call, although it came through Esbjorn, was extended upon the recommendation of one Ola Nilson, who had heard Hasselquist preach in Önnestad, Sweden. Hasselquist accepted without much hesitation, although he realized that it meant hardships and suffering.⁵ A nephew, who had immigrated to America and settled in Galesburg, had written concerning the religious needs of the Swedish-Americans and this knowledge doubtless played a part in Hasselquist's decision to emigrate.⁶ But his dislike for the State Church must also have been a factor in bringing him to the decision. His friends who were supporters of the Free Church Movement expected much help from him, believing that he would test out their ideas in the new country. After arriving in America, however, he severed all connections with them, as he

¹ Svenska Kuriren, Feb. 12, 1891.

² L. P. Esbjorn to Erland Carlsson, Princeton, Ill., Feb. 24, 1857. Reprinted in Tidskrift, 1899, p. 290.

³ Esbjorn was born in the province of Hälsingland, and in spite of the poverty and hardships of his early life, he succeeded in securing a college and university education. Early in his ministry he came under the influence of George Scott, the English reformer, who was visiting in Sweden, and soon showed a distinct piety and a strong enmity to "worldliness" and especially to intemperance. The natural result was a feeling of dissatisfaction with the State Church and therefore it was not difficult for Esbjorn to decide to follow some members of his parish to America. Anna Soderblom, En Amerikabok, p. 201. In America, Esbjorn organized the pioneer congregations which were the nucleus of the Augustana Synod, and up to 1860, as the following pages will reveal, he played a very important part in shaping the destiny of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America.

⁴ Tidskrift, 1910, p. 2.

⁵ Norelius, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

⁶ A. R. Cervin, MS. 1887. (In the archives of the Augustana Book Concern.)

discovered that even the Free Church plan was beset with difficulties.¹ Nevertheless, his early ideas were deep-rooted, and as late as 1882, he was accused of being anxious "to introduce free church ideals into Sweden."² Distance perhaps weakened the influence of Hammar and others and Hasselquist became a most conservative Lutheran due to the peculiar conditions among the Swedes in America. But he never put off the garb of pietism.

Shortly before leaving Sweden, Hasselquist was married to Eva Helena Cervin, an intelligent and unusually well educated woman, who for thirty years proved herself a very valuable assistant to her husband.³ His parishioners expressed their sentiments of gratitude in a poem entitled, "To Rev. T. N. Hasselquist upon his departure from Åkarp to North America in August, 1852."⁴ Hasselquist was granted leave of absence for three years from the Diocese of Lund,⁵ and, together with his wife and sixty other emigrants from the province of Scania, began the long journey to America. On September 28, 1852, this company arrived in New York and continued westward. Tired and weakened by the long voyage, they became victims of cholera, and at first, were not permitted to enter Chicago. Due to the death of his first wife, Esbjorn was prevented from meeting the group, so they had to care for each other in the best way possible. Hasselquist was among those stricken but fortunately his case was light and he was brought to the home of the Rev. Paul Andersen, a Norwegian pastor in Chicago, where he was well cared for, and recovered in time to be present at the Convention of the Northern Illinois Synod. Here Esbjorn and Hasselquist met for the first time in America. These two men, so different in individual characteristics, were to become the founders of the Augustana Synod. One was modest and retiring while the other was aggressive, his very appearance giving the impression of authority.⁶ The biographer, Norelius, could also have

¹ Korsbaneret, 1892, p. 80.

² Augustana och Missionären, April 19, 1882.

³ Hemlandet, Feb. 5, 1891.

⁴ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 28-29.

⁵ Olson, The Swedish Element in Illinois, p. 127.

⁶ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 27-29.

pointed out that one of them had been influenced by the religious movement in Helsingland, and preferred to preach the gospel of peace, while the other one was a preacher of law.¹ One lacked decisiveness, while the other had an iron will which was not easily bent. It was these characteristics which later led to a clash and caused Esbjorn to return to Sweden. Norelius claims that Hasselquist never showed any desire to leave America and settle permanently in the land of his birth.²

After being accepted as a member of the Northern Illinois Synod, Hasselquist remained a few days in Chicago in order to recover more fully from his recent illness, and then he and his wife continued their journey via canal to La Salle or Peru, Illinois, and by wagon to the pioneer Swedish settlement at Andover, Illinois. Here he preached his first sermon in America, and thereafter, accompanied by Esbjorn, he set out for his final destination. The roads were very bad and the new pastor and his wife must have been very weary and in need of a friendly welcome. Instead of this, they met a Swede on the road who in their conversation said that he could not understand why a man of Hasselquist's position was going to Galesburg.³

This was not a cheerful greeting but when the tired missionary reached his field of labor he understood what it meant. Esbjorn had organized the Swedish Lutheran congregation in Galesburg, in the face of bitter opposition. There was a large settlement of Swedes in and around the city, but the majority of them were hostile to the Lutheran Church, and at the time of Hasselquist's arrival on the scene, the congregation of forty members was on the point of dissolution.⁴ A certain Palmquist, whose ecclesiastical status was obscure and who was suspected by many of being

¹ J. Engberg to E. Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., Feb. 18, 1856.

² However, in a letter, Hasselquist writes that his many duties as teacher, as pastor, as President of the Synod, as President of Augustana College, and a large correspondence made it necessary for him to work from five o'clock in the morning until late at night "and sometimes I feel so discouraged and want to be free, and sometimes I think of Sweden, and may the Lord preserve both the bodily and the spiritual strength." Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 21, 1865.

³ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 29-30.

⁴ Korsbaneret, 1888, pp. 170-173.

a Baptist, had undermined the work which Esbjorn had done.¹ To Hasselquist, it seemed that personally he was not wanted, and that the Lutherans were classed along with Catholics, and shunned as such. Esbjorn had sought to overcome the suspicion by not wearing the Lutheran ministerial garb, but this concession was without any results.² The Swedes were poor; they had no church building; and all the circumstances were discouraging. One dark evening a number of Swedes gathered in one of the homes to listen to their pastor's first sermon. The house was not plastered; it had no ceiling, no benches, and the only light was provided by a few candles held by members of the audience.³ Hasselquist had selected his text very carefully, and based his discourse upon I Corinthians, 2. 1-5: "And I, brethren, when I came unto you, came not with excellency of speech or wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God. For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified."⁴

During these first days in Galesburg, Hasselquist must have asked himself many questions. Could these immigrants be brought together into harmony in thought and action? Could the hostility toward the Lutheran Church be overcome? Could the people, who were in sympathy with Methodism, Congregationalism, and other reformed churches, as well as former members of the Bishop Hill Settlement, be persuaded to return to the Lutheran fold?⁵ These delicate and intricate tasks were faced by Hasselquist, and approaching them with unwavering faith, untiring energy, enthusiasm and a splendid physique, he soon ceased to be merely a local minister, with Galesburg as his parish, and became an outstanding leader who looked upon all the Swedes in America as composing his field of labor. To understand the needs and problems of that field, a brief consideration of the motives and distribution of the Swedish immigrants and of the status of the Lutheran Church in America is necessary.

¹ L. P. Esbjorn to Norelius, Andover, Ill., Nov. 24, 1851; *Tidskrift*, 1899, p. 247.

² Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 30-36.

³ *Augustana och Missionären*, June 15, 1879.

⁴ *Svenskarna i Amerika*, Vol. I, p. 98.

⁵ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 29.

Two centuries elapsed between the founding of the Swedish Colony on the Delaware and the renewal of Swedish immigration to America.¹ There is very little, if any, connection between these two movements.² The number of Swedes in America in 1840 could not have been very large, for the Law of 1768 provided that every person, who desired to leave Sweden, must give a bond for his return. This law remained a serious obstacle to emigration until its objectionable features were repealed in 1840.³ The change did not cause an immediate stream of emigrants. Prior to 1850 very little publicity was given to the lands across the Atlantic,⁴ and there was no particular reason which would impel the Swedes to look for new homes. According to the United States Census, there were only 3,559 Swedes in the country in 1850.⁵

But though few in numbers, those immigrants who had come before 1850 played an important part in making America better known. C. G. Gosselman and C. D. Arfwedson published books describing their travels and their impressions of America.⁶ Peter Kassel and others aided in spreading information about the "New World" by writing letters to their respective home communities in Sweden.⁷ Fredrika Bremer visited the United States, and her classic, *Hemmen i Nya Verlden*, was read by "everybody."⁸ More important, undoubtedly, were the letters of Unonius, which were published in certain Swedish newspapers.⁹ The Swedish press had also become more interested and their accounts created a very favorable impression of America upon the

¹ Hemlandet, Sept. 14, 1858.

² Flom, "Early Swedish Immigration to Iowa," in Iowa Journal of History and Politics, Vol. III, p. 507; Swedish Historical Society of America, Year-Book, 1922-23, p. 44; Thomas, Sweden, p. 739.

³ Beckman, Amerikanska Studier, p. 157.

⁴ Mattson, Reminiscences, p. 13.

⁵ In Babcock's The Scandinavian Element, p. 210, is a table based upon the census of 1850, which conveniently shows the distribution by states of the three Scandinavian nationalities in the United States at that time.

⁶ Swan, "En Bortglömd Svensk-Amerikan," in Swedish Historical Society of America Year-Book, 1903-1913, p. 32.

⁷ Norelius, De Svenska Lutherska Församlingarnas och Svenskarnas Historia i Amerika, Vol. I, p. 87.

⁸ Benson, America in the Fifties, Introduction.

⁹ Olson, Swedes of Illinois, p. 195.

readers.¹ Swedish-Americans returning to their native land told relatives and friends about their new home, often exaggerating its wonders.² The importance of these letters can be emphasized the more because of the high average of literacy prevailing in the Scandinavian countries.³ A popular Swedish-American writer and orator claimed that there was a lower percentage of illiterates in Sweden than in Massachusetts, "the paradise of philosophers and school-ma'ams."⁴ The abundance of immigrant *Guide-Books* also testifies to the belief of land agents, railroad companies and shippers that the Swedes could be interested in America through the printed page.⁵

The student of emigration finds that the causes of departure from any particular country are complex. With respect to Sweden, non-scientific observers have said that the "wanderlust" of the Vikings played a part.⁶ Other factors were more tangible. Many young men objected to compulsory military training, and to avoid it emigrated.⁷ Some, undoubtedly, were dissatisfied with the political conditions in Sweden, as a large percentage of the population did not possess the right to vote.⁸ But on the other hand, it has been maintained that the Swedish emigrants were "honest" and "hard working people," and but few of them were political refugees.⁹ Each of these factors was the important one in particular cases; all of them in some cases; but in general, the motive must have been vital when it caused men and women to break away from relatives and friends and to leave the hills, valleys, rivers, and lakes of their native land.

A great deal has been written about the religious cause, the influence of the great awakening, and the proselyting

¹ *Svenskarna i Amerika*, Vol. I, p. 208.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 205-206.

³ *Hemlandet*, March 19, 1872.

⁴ Swensson, *Vid Hemmets Hård*, p. 375.

⁵ Roy W. Swanson, "More Swedish Emigrant Guide Books of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," in *Swedish Historical Society of America, Year-Book*, 1926.

⁶ *Hemlandet*, July 29, 1873.

⁷ *Svenska Tribunen*, Oct. 22, 1884.

⁸ *Svenskarna i Amerika*, Vol. I, p. 204; *Hemlandet*, April 29, 1885.

⁹ *Hemlandet*, April 12, 1870.

of the Evangelical Alliance in Sweden.¹ The fact that some of the Swedish clergy were guilty of "heresy, profanity, blasphemy, drunkenness, gambling, avarice, dishonesty, lewdness and sacrilege" undoubtedly prompted many sincere Christians to object.² Many of the clergy endeavored in vain to check the "awakening,"³ and religious liberty and toleration did not exist during the forties and fifties, although there were very few persecutions.⁴ Most of the arrests and accusations were made against the Mormons.⁵ Hans Mattson also mentions a Baptist preacher who was compelled to leave Sweden.⁶ *The Andover Review* claimed that actual persecutions took place in Sweden after 1870, but J. W. Richard states that these were due to "violation of laws," "religious fanaticism" and the committing of the "most shocking sins."⁷ This emphasis upon the religious cause may, in part, be ascribed to the Separatists who exaggerated the intolerance of the Swedish State Church, making many accusations which were, in all probability, only propaganda.⁸ Hasselquist, one of those who perhaps emigrated because of the "abhorred" State Church,⁹ claimed that that organization was never guilty of any persecutions.¹⁰ The religious cause was also given prominence by that portion of the Swedish-American Press which was hostile to everything called religion.¹¹ In Sweden, there existed at that time a condition of worldliness and spiritual indifference that, according to Hasselquist, was much stronger than the "religious awakening,"¹² although this awakening clearly had a wholesome influence upon the clergy.¹³ The majority of the Swedes in America were not

¹ Hemlandet, May 20, 1857.

² Stephenson in the *American Historical Review*, Vol. 31, pp. 709-710.

³ Hemlandet, June 3, 1857.

⁴ Ibid, Jan. 14, 1857.

⁵ Ibid, Feb. 3, 1858.

⁶ Mattson, *Reminiscences*, p. 40.

⁷ Richard, *The Free Church Movement in Sweden*, p. 7. (Pamphlet in Augustana College Library.)

⁸ *The Missionary*, Aug. 26, 1858.

⁹ Stephenson, *op. cit.*, p. 709.

¹⁰ *Augustana Missionary*, May 4, 1887.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Hemlandet, April 14, 1855.

¹³ Ibid, Aug. 31, 1859.

church members,¹ and the slow growth of the Separatists is also evidence of a widespread indifference to religion.² All these facts seem to assign the religious cause for emigration to a secondary place.

On the other hand, the economic causes can hardly be overemphasized, for here one does not deal with abstract and intangible things. There was a close relationship between migration and the business conditions in Sweden and America, while it is difficult to perceive a similar relationship between religion and emigration. About four-sevenths of the area of Sweden is composed of forests, and only one-seventh is cultivated. The soil in general is not fertile, rocks and stones making it difficult to farm even the open fields,³ and the severe climate made crop failures common.⁴ An unparalleled growth in population intensified the distress as Sweden was almost entirely an agricultural country, its industries not being developed until the latter part of the century.⁵ Therefore, the most prosperous peasants, fore-seeing only difficulties ahead, and realizing the impossibility of leaving their sons in the position of independent farmers, looked for a brighter future in what seemed the land of promise.⁶ The whole period of emigration was one of economic readjustment.⁷

During the years from 1840 to 1850 the agricultural laborer lodged and boarded with the farmer, receiving coarse but plentiful food, but very low wages. In the next decade a gradual change began to take place. The farmer's wife was less willing to provide accommodations for the hired help, and the farmer began to employ more tenant laborers and fewer domestic servants.⁸ The "torpare," or crofter, was gradually rising into the class of landowner through the government's policy of land redistribution. The "bonde" strongly opposed this change, for he was compelled to give

¹ Lutheran Observer, March 18, 1870.

² Swensson, I Sverige, p. 209.

³ Hemlandet, Oct. 15, 1879.

⁴ Ibid, Aug. 5, 1873. Florence E. Janson, The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930.

⁵ Svenskarna i Amerika, Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

⁶ Hemlandet, Feb. 7, 1864.

⁷ Sundbärg, Sweden, Its People and Its Industries, p. 132.

⁸ Ibid, pp. 210-214.

a certain amount of land to his "torpare." As this land amounted to only a few acres, the "torpare" remained dependent upon day labor for his living. This gave the "bonde" an opportunity for revenge, as due to an abundance of laborers, he could compel the "torpare" to work for a very small wage.¹ In the early fifties, crop failures made conditions more acute.² Even the conservative Rev. Johan Bolin advised people to emigrate.³

There was, therefore, a large emigration from Sweden during the years from 1851 to 1854. This wave was checked in 1854 when the news of the suffering and death of many emigrants reached those left at home.⁴ In Sweden, as in Western Europe generally, the Crimean War restored prosperity; crops were good, re-parcelling of land was taking place, and farms were rising in value as the price of cereals increased.⁵ When the king addressed the Riksdag in 1856, he commented upon the unusual prosperity of the nation.⁶ The financial crisis in 1857 was not as severe in Sweden as in the United States. Accordingly, the building of railroads was not interrupted.⁷ Wages were three times as high as they had been before the beginning of the railroad construction and although living expenses increased and taxation was higher, they did not offset the advantages.⁸ During this era of prosperity from 1855 to 1859, America was troubled by the slavery contest in Kansas,⁹ and the Panic of 1857; and in the year 1858 conditions in Sweden were considered better than in America.¹⁰ But the next year the reverse was true. Sweden was again afflicted by "hard times" and America enjoyed returning prosperity. Emigration, however, did not increase as rapidly as might have been expected. Conditions in Sweden were so grave

¹ Hemlandet, Jan. 4, 1867.

² Sundbärg, op. cit., pp. 225, 514.

³ Svenskarna i Amerika, pp. 203-204.

⁴ Ibid, p. 210.

⁵ Sundbärg, op. cit., p. 214.

⁶ Hemlandet, Dec. 4, 1856.

⁷ Ibid, Jan. 6, 1858.

⁸ Ibid, April 21, 1857.

⁹ Ibid, Dec. 18, 1856.

¹⁰ Ibid, Sept. 14, 1858.

that property could not be sold or debts collected.¹ This economic depression of 1859 in Sweden was not of long duration, but on account of the uncertainties of the American Civil War, emigration was at an ebb until it became known that due to the war, laborers were in demand and wages were high.²

Until the arrival of Esbjorn in 1849, the Swedish immigrants in America had practically no church connections, although the Lutheran Church in America can be traced as far back as 1623–1626, when a group of Dutch Lutherans settled in New Amsterdam. When Sweden established a colony on the Delaware in 1638, the Lutheran cause was strengthened, but it was not until the German immigrations in 1680–1684, and the much larger movement in the first half of the eighteenth century, that the Lutheran Church became a significant factor in the social and religious life of America. In 1747, Rev. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg succeeded in organizing the numerous, scattered congregations into one Synod called “The German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent Colonies.” This body was not made up only of German Lutherans, as the name might indicate, for the Swedish Lutherans were also members. However, after the War of Independence, the expansion of the Lutheran Church into new and remote territory caused the formation of several new Synods.³ This disintegration was checked in 1820–1821 when the “Mother Church” (the Pennsylvania Ministerium) was successful in bringing about the organization of the “General Synod,” of which nearly all the local Synods became members.⁴

The Lutheran Church followed the westward movement of population across the Alleghenies, and in 1835 there was organized the “Synod of the West” which covered the region now included in Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Missouri, and Iowa. In 1839 the first Lutheran Convention in the State of Illinois was held at Hillsboro, although there

¹ Hemlandet, June 1, 1859.

² Ibid, July 6, 1864.

³ The Lutheran Church Review, Vol. IV, pp. 19–20.

⁴ Ibid, pp. 22–23.

were only three Lutheran places of worship in the whole state.¹ But the growth of Lutheranism was so rapid that in 1846 it was found advisable to divide the Synod of the West into three Synods, one of which was named the Illinois Synod, and out of this body the Synod of Northern Illinois emerged in 1851, at which time the Scandinavian Lutherans in the state became members.² It is interesting to note that as the Northern Illinois Synod was a district Synod or a member of the General Synod, the Swedes in the West established connections with the same organization with which the Swedish church in colonial Delaware had affiliated. But the General Synod, at its best, represented only a weak attempt toward coöperation.

When the Rev. Lars Paul Esbjorn arrived in America, he found the Lutheran Church confined principally to the East, and torn by doctrinal feuds.³ Division into so many Synods weakened the church, as the body, as a whole, did not have a great number of members.⁴ Esbjorn was not the first Swedish Lutheran pastor in America, but he was the first whose work was permanent.⁵ In the West a Swedish Lutheran congregation had been organized at New Sweden, Iowa, where a layman, M. F. Håkanson, served as pastor.⁶ It became Esbjorn's duty to lay the foundation for the Augustana Synod in organizing congregations at Andover, Princeton, Moline, and Galesburg. He toured the eastern states appealing for financial assistance from the German and English Lutheran groups in order to secure funds with which to erect places of worship for these western congregations. At Boston he met Jenny Lind, and from the "Swedish Nightingale" he received a gift of \$1,500.00. Other contributions were secured and the total of \$2,200.00 was used in the construction of churches.⁷ The American

¹ Harkey, "The Early History of Lutheranism in Illinois" in *The Evangelical Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVII, p. 535.

² *Ibid*, pp. 542-543.

³ Stephenson, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod*, pp. 1-15.

⁴ *Hemlandet*, Jan. 31, 1883.

⁵ Norelius, *De Svenska Lutherska Församlingarnas och Svenskarnes Historia i Amerika*, Vol. I, pp. 6-14.

⁶ Nothstein, *My Church*, Vol. IV, p. 15.

⁷ Norelius, *Evangeliska Lutherska Augustana Synoden i Nord Amerika*, pp. 16-17.

Home Missionary Society had given him financial help from the very beginning of his work when he was "practically penniless,"¹ and had it not been for this assistance extended by an organization mainly supported by Congregationalists, Esbjorn, who had been somewhat influenced by the views of George Scott, might have accepted the terms of the Rev. Olof G. Hedstrom, who suggested that he join the Methodist Church.²

There were many obstacles in the way of success. The Swedes were poor;³ many of them were hostile to the Lutheran Church;⁴ the settlements were scattered, the largest being those at Sugar Grove, Pennsylvania; at Jamestown, New York; at Chicago, Andover, Rock Island, Moline, Galesburg, Bishop Hill, and other places in Illinois, and at Burlington and New Sweden, Iowa. These Swedish settlements were open fields for proselyting, and the Episcopalians and Methodists worked diligently to make converts.⁵ In some of the communities the Swedes had heard no sermon for years,⁶ as most of them were remote from transportation facilities, in 1852 railroads extending only forty miles west of Chicago.⁷ Undoubtedly when Hasselquist came to Esbjorn's assistance a new period was inaugurated but it seemed that as the number of Swedish immigrants increased, the difficulties more than kept pace, for these settlers sought homes in Indiana, Minnesota and Wisconsin, thus greatly extending the territory that the ministers had to cover.⁸ In 1856, Swedish settlements existed in almost every state and it was an impossibility for the clergymen to visit them all.⁹

The scattered settlements which made the work so difficult for the pastors, offered an opportunity to unscrupulous persons who, disguised as preachers, secured money for

¹ Stephenson, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod*, p. 8.

² A historical document called "Svenskarne i Amerika" written by Norelius about 1858; George Stephenson interview.

³ *Hemlandet*, Jan. 5, 1856.

⁴ *Ibid*, Jan. 15, 1856.

⁵ Norelius, *Evangeliska Lutherska Augustana Synoden i Nord Amerika*, pp. 14-15.

⁶ *Augustana Synod, 1860-1910*, p. 26.

⁷ *Hemlandet*, March 15, 1856.

⁸ *Svenskarna i Amerika*, Vol. I, p. 244.

⁹ *Hemlandet*, July 3, 1856.

various causes, though the causes never received these donations.¹ In some cases Swedes of slender means apprenticed their minor children to American families in order that both of the parents might be free to work, and contribute toward their final goal, the farm. These children growing up in non-Swedish and non-Lutheran homes, lost their identity, and made more difficult the task that faced the Swedish Lutheran Church.²

These conditions were ideal for fostering the keenest rivalry for converts. During the years prior to 1860, the Swedish settlements provided a field of contention where the Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians and Lutherans sought to persuade as many as possible to subscribe to their particular creeds.³ Each group possessed certain advantages. The pioneer minister, G. Unonius, who had become an Episcopalian clergyman, and who had organized a congregation of that faith in Chicago, accused the Lutheran pastors of being non-Lutherans, because of their attitude to the Free Church, their connection with the Northern Illinois Synod, and their lack of bishops.⁴ His criticism was strengthened by the fact that the State Church of Sweden recommended the Episcopal Church in America to the emigrants when they left the mother country.⁵ On the other hand, the Methodists and Baptists denounced the Lutherans as State Church men and wrote "as long as you remain a Lutheran, the State Church is your mother, and the devil is your father, and you his children, consequently, you are damned forever."⁶ These Reformed churches received financial aid from outside sources, while the Lutherans received very little, if any. *The Christian Advocate and Journal* stated that \$10,500.00 had been appropriated by the Methodist Church to promote the missionary cause among the Scandinavians in America during the year 1857.⁷ The Episcopalian, Baptist, and Methodist Churches in Chicago

¹ Hemlandet, Feb. 25, 1857; Sept. 19, 1857; May 11, 1858.

² Ibid, May 25, 1859.

³ P. Carlson to Hasselquist, Marine Settlement, June 28, 1859.

⁴ Stephenson, An unpublished manuscript on "Unonius."

⁵ Söderblom, Från Uppsala till Rock Island, pp. 361-362.

⁶ The Missionary, Jan. 7, 1858.

⁷ The Missionary, Jan. 8, 1857.

were all, to a great extent, supported by means obtained from Americans, and therefore the financial burdens resting upon the individual members were less. It was natural that the immigrants, who were poor, should be attracted by these churches rather than to the Lutheran Church where they would be compelled to contribute a much larger share of the expenses.¹ In the Reformed congregations churches were built, and the salaries were paid by contributions from non-members.² The Lutherans were unable to provide pastors for the many settlements and, for example, supported only two missionaries in Minnesota, where the Baptists and Methodists maintained six or eight.³ Some of the families who desired to remain faithful to the Lutheran Church, and therefore did not attend services held by non-Lutherans, found their homes actually invaded by the zealous missionaries, who persisted in remaining even when requested to leave.⁴ It was such efforts on the part of other denominations that caused the Swedish Lutheran pastors to give up their liberal views, and adopt a more and more conservative Lutheranism.⁵ It was through such an evolution that Hasselquist, himself, passed.

¹ Hemlandet, March 15, 1865.

² Cederstam to Hasselquist, Chisago Lake, Minn., July 21, 1855.

³ The Missionary, Sept. 25, 1856.

⁴ Hemlandet, Feb. 16, 1858.

⁵ Norelius, Svenska Lutherska Församlingarnas och Svenskarnas Historia i Amerika, Vol. I, p. 162.

CHAPTER II

EARLY ACTIVITIES IN AMERICA

The congregation at Galesburg, made up of immigrant wage-earners, was unable to provide their new pastor with a substantial salary or a spacious parsonage. During the first years, Hasselquist and his wife were obliged to live in two small rooms, which constituted half of a poorly constructed house. The roof leaked and whenever it rained, water poured in upon the occupants; the only piece of furniture was the box in which Hasselquist had brought his books from Sweden; the floor served as a bed.¹ As the congregation was so poor, Hasselquist followed the example of Esbjorn and petitioned the American Home Missionary Society for aid, which was granted to him for two years.²

Hasselquist plunged into his labors with great energy and gradually won the confidence of the Americans, who formerly had shown very little respect for the Lutheran Church and its ministers. Encouraged by his leadership, the parishioners were willing to sacrifice, and soon a small Methodist church was purchased. From this base, work was extended to Knoxville, Wataga, Altona, and other neighboring places.³ His influence was strengthened still more during the cholera epidemic in 1854, when the young pastor and his wife worked untiringly among the sick, visiting one stricken family after another, and risking their lives in their anxiety to help. This visitation provided an opportunity to appeal to the Swedes to turn from worldly interests to things that were heavenly, and, as in the days of Glimåkra, Hasselquist preached repentance, the result being a revival which greatly increased the membership of the congregations at Galesburg and Knoxville.⁴ The radical

¹ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 30-36.

² Norelius, *De Svenska Lutherska Församlingarnas och Svenskarnas Historia i Amerika*, Vol. I, p. 233.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 35-39.

⁴ *Hemlandet*, Nov. 21, 1856.

ideas he had formed in Sweden undoubtedly proved an asset in America, as they made him willing to break away from many staid Lutheran forms. While in Galesburg, he dispensed with the regulation collar of the Lutheran clergyman.¹ He willingly coöperated with other denominations,² and he tried in every possible way to make those about him realize that his chief interest was in eternal, not external things.

In this zeal he may have overstepped good judgment. During his pioneer years he often entered the church clad in a white linen coat and as he walked down the aisle, he sang one of Ahnfelt's songs in which the congregation usually joined. He ignored the ritual, going directly to the pulpit to begin his sermon, sometimes interrupting the discourse with a hymn. This informality caused difficulties when the pendulum began to swing back toward conservatism.³ Some of his church members caught his spirit and developed it, becoming so "radical" that they urged that the preacher sit before the altar, that the audience remain seated when the Gospel was read, and that the cross and other symbols be discarded.⁴ Hasselquist's influence was also felt as he tried to enforce his Puritan ideals. Drunkenness, immorality, swearing, and an "unchurchly" attitude during services were punished very severely.⁵ One occasion, being informed that some of his flock had attended a dance, he on the following Sunday announced to the congregation that if any of those who had indulged partook of the Lord's Supper, they would be excommunicated.⁶ But in spite of these strict standards, during his pastorate in Galesburg the membership of the congregation increased

¹ A. W. Dahlsten to A. W. Passavant, Galesburg, Ill., Jan. 25, 1869.

² Hasselquist to O. Olsson, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 1, 1869.

³ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 52-53. Norelius believed that Hasselquist's liberalism was due to the influence of the Congregationalists with whom he came in contact in Galesburg.

⁴ Hemlandet, Feb. 5, 1891. In 1868, a Second Lutheran Church was organized in Galesburg, and Norelius blames Hasselquist's radicalism for this. It should be remembered, however, that Hasselquist left Galesburg in 1863, and before 1868 another religious movement had begun which became known as the "Mission Friend Movement."

⁵ Korsbaneret, 1888, pp. 176-178.

⁶ J. Engberg to E. Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., Dec. 8, 1855.

from a handful to three hundred and sixteen confirmed members.¹

In the meantime, industrial conditions in Galesburg improved. The isolation was broken in 1854, when the first locomotive steamed into town.² With these developments the residents prospered, and in 1856 the value of the homes owned by Swedish immigrants was estimated at seventy-three thousand dollars. Some, it is true, had mortgages on their homes, but money could be secured at ten per cent interest and few hesitated to incur obligations. Many owned farms in the surrounding country as a speculation. Even the housemaids were able to save something from their liberal wages.³ Hasselquist's popularity increased and he became a leader, not only in religious matters but in all affairs which concerned the welfare of the Swedish people.⁴ The opposition and lethargy he had overcome were great, but they were small in comparison with the obstacles that he had to face in the more important work of organizing a Swedish Lutheran Church in America.

The most important step in this direction was a venture into the field of journalism. The need of a Swedish-American newspaper had been recognized as early as 1853, when it was proposed that Erland Carlsson of Chicago should undertake the project.⁵ At first coöperation with the Norwegians was considered, but this idea was abandoned and plans were made for a Swedish paper to be entitled, *Svenska Posten*. Carlsson, however, was so busy with his pastoral work in this important immigrant center that the actual launching of the paper was postponed from time to time.⁶ Esbjorn, unable to goad Carlsson into action, requested Hasselquist to use his influence.⁷ But Hasselquist was no more successful than Esbjorn had been, and becoming impatient he took the task upon himself.⁸

¹ Olson, op. cit., p. 130.

² Korsbaneret, 1888, p. 66.

³ Hemlandet, Nov. 21, 1856.

⁴ Ibid, Jan. 6, 1858.

⁵ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 48.

⁶ L. P. Esbjorn to Erland Carlsson, Andover, Ill., March 7, 1854, published in Tidskrift, 1899, p. 261.

⁷ Tidskrift, 1899, p. 262.

⁸ Ibid, 1899, p. 267.

But the financial backing was precarious. Hasselquist, therefore, set out on an extensive journey to investigate what success might reasonably be expected, visiting Minnesota, Chicago, Sugar Grove, Pennsylvania, and Jamestown, New York, in an effort to obtain subscribers.¹ While in the East, he bought an old German printing press, and after some search located a Swedish typesetter.² The motives that induced him to assume this heavy responsibility were many. He realized the power of the press.³ He regarded an ignorant and unenlightened population as a menace to any country, but in a democracy such as the United States, where a large percentage of the citizens was foreign born, it was all the more important that the people be informed regarding public affairs.⁴ Perhaps he would have preferred to carry on his work as a clergyman in his own parish but felt duty-bound to do all he could in fostering the enterprise.⁵ By means of this paper, he hoped to instruct his fellow countrymen regarding their adopted land and make them understand that they would share in its prosperity, and suffer with it in its misfortunes. Moreover, if successful, the paper would be an important link connecting scattered Swedish settlements.

These motives determined the content of the paper which made its first appearance on January 3, 1855. Instead of *Svenska Posten*, it bore the title *Hemlandet, Det Gamla och Det Nya*, a title probably suggested by Erland Carlsson.⁶ It was planned to be both political and religious. The political section was to contain news from Sweden, general news from Europe, a discussion of important political questions relating to the United States, and other topics of interest such as agriculture, railroads, and banking. The religious section was to be devoted to information from Sweden, accounts from the various Swedish settlements in America, and other news items relating to the growth,

¹ Korsbaneret, 1888, pp. 141-143.

² Söderström, Blixtar på Tidnings-Horisonten, pp. 85-87.

³ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 58-59.

⁴ Hemlandet, March 10, 1855.

⁵ Ibid, Nov. 10, 1855.

⁶ Olson, En Bokhandels-Historia, p. 1.

progress and problems of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America.¹ The original size of 11" by 16" was enlarged to 13" by 20" before the end of the first year. It was made up of four pages with four columns to each page.²

In this venture the editor faced almost insurmountable obstacles. Chicago, the distributing point of the West, would have been a more logical place of publication than Galesburg.³ The press did not arrive at the scheduled time, and it was only through the courtesy of a Knoxville printer that the first numbers appeared.⁴ But the type available at Knoxville was Roman and these letters could be read by only a few of the Swedes. The delay of the press caused irregular publication, and the first three numbers came out on January 3, February 24, and March 10, respectively.⁵ But even after the arrival of the type on March 1, 1855, many difficult problems remained.⁶ Hasselquist was not an experienced newspaper man and he had never realized the trouble and worry connected with the editing of a paper. It therefore appeared only irregularly during 1855.⁷ The United States Postal Service had not reached a high degree of efficiency, and sometimes the subscriber did not receive his copy until two or three weeks after its issue.⁸ As the Swedes were scattered over a large area, delivery was a vexing problem.⁹ Moreover, the readers were divided in their political and religious views and some, who had anxiously awaited the coming of *Hemlandet*, were dissatisfied when they saw that it was so Lutheran in its tone. A large number complained of the high subscription rate.¹⁰ But the greatest care was the indifference of the majority of the Swedes. As they had lived happily without a paper in the past, they could not see why they should not be able to do

¹ *Hemlandet*, Jan. 3, 1855.

² *The Alumnus*, Vol. I, No. 5, p. 98.

³ *Hemlandet*, Jan. 3, 1855.

⁴ P. A. Cederstam to Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., Feb. 10, 1855.

⁵ *The Alumnus*, Vol. I, No. 5, p. 98.

⁶ P. A. Cederstam to Hasselquist, Galesburg, Ill., March 1, 1855.

⁷ *Hemlandet*, Nov. 20, 1855.

⁸ *Ibid*, March 31, 1855.

⁹ *Viking*, Vol. I, No. 1.

¹⁰ *Hemlandet*, March 10, 1855.

so in the future.¹ Consequently, the existence of *Hemlandet* was precarious for some time. During the first two years the expenses exceeded the income,² and Hasselquist decreed that all of the subscribers should pay fifty cents toward the printing press in addition to the regular subscription price. This remarkable levy saved the situation.³

Hasselquist was assisted by P. A. Cederstam during the year 1854–55, and by A. R. Cervin during 1856–57.⁴ It is said that it was at the suggestion of the latter that Hasselquist began to devote more space to political questions in the columns of *Hemlandet*. A result of this change in emphasis was the birth of an entirely religious paper called *Rätta Hemlandet*,⁵ for Hasselquist realized that if he hoped to indoctrinate the Swedes in the Lutheran creed, this could be accomplished more readily through a strictly religious paper. But as he wanted the subscribers to read both publications, he printed them alternate weeks, thereby giving the Swedes a weekly paper.⁶ In *Rätta Hemlandet*, many very pietistic articles written by Carl Olof Rosenius and appearing in *Pietisten* were reprinted.⁷ Here he also had an opportunity to compare Lutheran doctrines with those of other denominations.⁸ The influence that he exerted through these two publications cannot be estimated.⁹ It is true that many Swedes were loyal to their church and resisted effectively the advances of proselyters, but undoubtedly their courage was fortified by the weekly appearance of the writings of Hasselquist.¹⁰ This was especially true with respect to the Swedes living in scattered settlements which had not been reached by missionaries, and congregations, which could not afford to support a minister, remained in closer touch with the denomination. Hasselquist tried to keep the Lutherans true to the Lutheran faith and ad-

¹ *Hemlandet*, Nov. 20, 1855.

² *Ibid*, Dec. 18, 1858.

³ *The Alumnus*, Vol. I, No. 5, p. 98.

⁴ Olson, *En Bokhandels-Historia*, p. 8.

⁵ *Minnen från Jubelfesten*, 1910, p. 87.

⁶ *Ibid*, 1910, p. 207.

⁷ Nothstein, *My Church*, Vol. II, p. 37.

⁸ *Rätta Hemlandet*, 1856, No. 7.

⁹ *Hemlandet*, Feb. 12, 1891.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Aug. 17, 1854.

monished them to live Christian lives.¹ The circulation was never large. It began its career with three hundred and thirty subscribers and in May, 1855, they numbered eight hundred.²

¹ Hemlandet, Dec. 4, 1856.

² Ibid, Nov. 20, 1855. The table below indicates the location of these subscribers and is presented as a contribution to our knowledge of the distribution of the Swedes at that time:

Galesburg, Illinois	55	Port Pouise, Iowa.....	1
Knoxville, Illinois	37	Lyons, Iowa	1
Rock Island, Illinois	9	Lansing, Iowa	13
Moline, Illinois	32	New Sweden, Iowa.....	16
Ontario, Illinois	3	Davenport, Iowa	1
Lafayette, Indiana	1	Rapids, P. D., Iowa.....	5
Galva, Illinois	2	Boonesborough, Iowa	1
Abingdon, Illinois	1	Hawk Eyes, Iowa.....	1
Fulton, Illinois	5	Keokuk, Iowa	3
Monmouth, Illinois	13	Homer, Iowa	2
Andover, Illinois	39	Burlington, Iowa	13
Union Grove, Illinois.....	2	Wheatland, Wisconsin	1
New Boston, Illinois.....	2	North Pevin, Wisconsin.....	1
Batavia, Illinois	1	Prairie LaCrosse, Wisconsin.....	2
Elgin, Illinois	2	New Aygo, Michigan.....	1
Pecatonica, Illinois	10	White Lake, Michigan.....	1
Carpenterville, Illinois	2	North Bridgewater, Massachusetts...11	
St. Charles, Illinois.....	20	Boston, Massachusetts	1
Keithsburg, Illinois	1	Providence, Massachusetts (sic).....	1
Geneseo, Illinois	2	Compalo, Massachusetts	1
Princeton, Illinois	24	Framingham, Massachusetts	1
Hennepin, Illinois	2	Jamestown, New York.....	15
La Salle, Illinois.....	1	Dunkirk, New York.....	1
Tiskilwa, Illinois	2	Frewsburg, New York.....	8
Wataga, Illinois	9	Harmony, New York.....	3
Macomb, Illinois	1	Blackville, New York.....	2
Victoria, Illinois	2	Garry, Vermont	1
Peoria, Illinois	1	Cherry Creek, New York.....	1
Lyndon, Illinois	1	Flavanna, New York.....	2
Marseilles, Illinois	1	Fredonia, New York.....	2
Wellington, Illinois	2	Sugar Creek, Pennsylvania.....	1
Henry, Illinois	22	Rattsville, Pennsylvania	2
Chicago, Illinois	50	Freehold, Pennsylvania	2
Blackberry Station, Illinois.....	1	Columbia, Pennsylvania	2
Geneva, Illinois	12	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	4
Rockford, Illinois	16	Hamilton, Ohio	1
Kewanee, Illinois	1	Louisville, Kentucky	2
Port Clinton, Illinois.....	1	Pleasantville, Kentucky	1
Morris, Illinois	1	Waldens Ridge, Kentucky.....	1
Waverly, Illinois	2	Mobile, Alabama	1
De Kalb, Illinois.....	1	Brushy, Texas	1
Chokapee, Minnesota	1	Austin, Texas	8
Carver City, Minnesota.....	3		
Taylor Falls, Minnesota.....	4		(1)
Chisago Lake, Minnesota.....	35		
Marine Mills, Minnesota.....	17		
Red Wing, Minnesota.....	7		

(1) Hemlandet, July 28—August 28, 1855.

Hemlandet became Hasselquist's chief weapon in his war against the proselyters. While emphasizing the fact that everything that was old was not necessarily bad, and also pointing out the folly of rejecting that which was good in what was new, he realized that the Swedes could easily be drawn away from the faith of their fathers, living, as they did, in a land where they were thrown into a whirlwind of confusing religious beliefs.¹ Baptists and Methodists objected to Hasselquist's belligerent Lutheranism, and accused him of having offended many when he should have been promoting unity and love among the Swedes. Hasselquist replied that he stood for unity, the Swedes were Lutherans, and it was the non-Lutheran pastors who brought about the disunion.² Undoubtedly, Hasselquist was not considerate of his opponents whom he scratched with a sharp pen.³ But it was not all criticism. He praised the Lutheran congregations that, in spite of their poverty, remained faithful to their traditional beliefs, resisting the temptation to join other denominations in whose ranks financial obligations would have been less burdensome.⁴ Upon Hasselquist himself the effect of this continuous strife with other denominations was to check his early liberalism and make him more conservative than he perhaps had wished to be.⁵

Under these circumstances there were ambitious individuals who believed that a rival paper would gain the support of those whom Hasselquist had offended. The first to materialize was *Svenska Republikanen* which at once launched a personal attack, denouncing him as a "hypocrite" and "falsifier."⁶ But such violent language profited little and, when continued, the number of subscribers, never large, began to dwindle.⁷ A second competitor appeared in 1857, when Norelius and Jonas Engberg began the publica-

¹ *Hemlandet*, May 4, 1855.

² J. Engberg to Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., May 4, 1856; *Hemlandet*, May 15, 1856.

³ *Hemlandet*, March 15, 1856.

⁴ *Svenska Republikanen*, Aug. 29, 1856.

⁵ Hasselquist to Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., June 28, 1858.

⁶ *Svenska Republikanen*, Aug. 1, 1856; Nov. 14, 1856.

⁷ *Svenska Tidningar och Tidskrifter utgifna inom Nord-Amerikas Förenta Stater*. (Kungl. Bibliotekets Samlingar, Vol. VIII, p. 3.

tion of *Minnesota Posten*,¹ as a challenge to the supremacy that Hasselquist was attaining in the Swedish Lutheran Church. This new organ was never a serious threat, and Hasselquist soon succeeded in bringing about its merger with *Hemlandet*.² This merger left *Hemlandet* in such a strong position that *Svenska Republikanen*, seeing the futility of competition, discontinued publication,³ and *Hemlandet* again enjoyed an uncontested supremacy in the field.

The full significance of *Hemlandet*, however, is not revealed in a consideration of its religious mission only. In the history of Swedish immigration, it has a place. The Swedish Press, aroused by the exodus which they claimed threatened depopulation, was engaged in a determined campaign against emigration. The most unbelievable stories of the strange country were printed.⁴ Hasselquist felt it his duty to object to these misleading accounts. He said that during his extensive travels in America, he had never witnessed any such suffering. In fact, he had found conditions much better than in Sweden; there was work for those who sought work, and land for those who wanted land. Even if a man could not become an independent farmer immediately, he could, as a renter, live in a comfortable home. According to his observation, Swedes in America were sleeping in neat beds covered with snow-white linen, they had comfortable chairs, fine rugs on the floors, and the wives were dressed like ladies.⁵ Many a mother, who had not dared to eat as much as she wished for fear that the children would not have enough, could in America set a full table with nourishing food for all. Many in Sweden had to be satisfied with potatoes, rye bread, and herring, while the Swedes in America could eat bread baked from wheat flour.⁶ These challenging statements reached those for whom they were intended, as *Hemlandet* was sent to Sweden by many subscribers who had friends and rela-

¹ *Minnesota Posten*, Nov. 7, 1859.

² Hasselquist to Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., June 28, 1858.

³ *Svenska Republikanen*, July 1, 1858.

⁴ *Hemlandet*, Aug. 12, 1857.

⁵ *Ibid*, Jan. 28, 1857.

⁶ *Ibid*, Aug. 12, 1857.

tives there. As early as 1856, Hasselquist himself was forwarding twenty copies of every issue.¹ The Swedish press tried to answer *Hemlandet* by securing letters from unsuccessful emigrants and published those which pictured conditions in America in the darkest colors.² Again Hasselquist's spirit was aroused. He accused the Swedish press of printing falsehoods, and requested that publicity be given to an article appearing in *Hemlandet* which, he claimed, pictured conditions as they were. Some newspapers, including the influential *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*, copied the articles that Hasselquist had suggested,³ and a very important connecting link between the old and the new world was established by the cordial relationship which developed between *Hemlandet* and the widely circulated *Väktaren*.⁴

Hemlandet was also useful in an attempt to further another cause in which Hasselquist was greatly interested. He realized that much of the social and economic future of immigrants depended upon where they settled, and he was, evidently, the only man who made any serious efforts to concentrate Swedish settlements in America. Generally, circumstances determined settlement. The foremost thought in the mind of the immigrant was usually immediate work.⁵ This caused widely scattered settlements, and one group was often not aware of the existence of the other.⁶ The majority planned to go west and become farmers, but because of lack of means and the high cost of transportation, they remained in the eastern cities where good wages often drove away all thought of agricultural life. Those who went west sought work in the towns and cities with the hope of later being able to buy farms, a fact which partially explains the settlements in Chicago, Knoxville, and Galesburg.⁷ All the influence of land companies, railroads and state agencies tended to scatter the settlements and only an

¹ *Hemlandet*, May 31, 1856.

² *Ibid*, Jan. 28, 1857.

³ *Ibid*, Oct. 22, 1857.

⁴ *Ibid*, Aug. 28, 1858.

⁵ *Ibid*, March 10, 1855.

⁶ *Ibid*, Sept. 1, 1857.

⁷ *Ibid*, July 28, 1857.

innate desire on the part of the Swedes to locate near their own countrymen aided Hasselquist in his propaganda for larger and more centralized groups.¹

In this endeavor Hasselquist had to contend with powerful forces, and it is very difficult to say to what extent he succeeded. He early learned that scattered settlements greatly handicapped his work in keeping the Swedes within the Lutheran fold. He also believed that the Swedes should not settle in the cities, but should follow their traditional occupation of farming. While not underestimating the opposing forces, and realizing that in most cases the immigrants were poor and unable to determine their location deliberately, he warned them not to remain in the cities. He also feared the evil influence of city life upon their religion and morals, and appealed to them to leave "whiskey" alone, as it might deprive them of the means to continue west.² He lauded those who had succeeded in finding their way into Minnesota, Iowa, and parts of Wisconsin, but discouraged all from settling in secluded places, where the only drawing card was cheap land and where there was no civilization to keep away loneliness.³ Through the columns of *Hemlandet*, an effort was made to induce those who had land for sale to try to establish larger settlements,⁴ and Minnesota was praised as the "most suitable for Swedes and for Norwegians both in respect to climate and natural peculiarities,"⁵

Hasselquist had thus far only sought to prevent the scattering of the Swedish settlements by his writings and by the opportunities which he undoubtedly had as a pastor. But when a certain Dr. Gran began a plan for a large Swedish settlement in Kansas in 1857, the editor of *Hemlandet* extended his support.⁶ However, he did not dare be enthusiastic. His natural conservatism modified his writings, or perhaps he feared that hasty decisions to join

¹ Person, *Svensk-Amerikanska Studier*, p. 16.

² *Hemlandet*, July 28, 1857.

³ *Ibid*, March 12, 1857.

⁴ *Ibid*, March 31, 1855.

⁵ *Ibid*, Dec. 22, 1855.

⁶ *Ibid*, July 28, 1857.

Gran's colony would bring disastrous results. At any rate he warned his countrymen not to give up good positions in order to go to Kansas and with his mind still on Minnesota urged that the winters in that state were not severe enough to frighten the Swedes. In his mind, the first thing to be considered in establishing a colony was the church,¹ and he was not satisfied with the preparations for religious opportunities in the project. Ultimately, this attempt to plant a Swedish colony in Kansas failed, an outcome due in part to the poor coöperation on the part of its members.²

The year 1856 had been an especially successful year; working conditions were very good, and many Swedes had bought land and prospered.³ Then suddenly all this prosperity encountered a setback. Railroad companies, threatened with bankruptcy, were forced to discharge their men, and the farmers suffered because of the low prices of their products.⁴ The value of land dropped from thirty to fifty per cent, inflicting a severe blow to those who had very recently purchased.⁵ However, it offered an attractive opportunity to Swedes who had been working in the cities to become farmers. The panic brought about a rapid change; people flocked from the towns and the cities to the country so rapidly that Hasselquist became alarmed and sent out a warning, advising his readers not to leave homes and what had been successful occupations for doubtful locations and an uncertain future.⁶ But the situation of his fellow countrymen during the depression that followed 1857 emphasized in his mind the necessity of directed colonization, and these thoughts finally culminated in the Paxton project of the next decade, which was to have such lasting results upon the cultural and religious life of the Swedes in America.

Although engaged in so many projects and duties, Hasselquist remained a frontier pastor. Few places could be reached by railroad. His work would often take him over country where no roads had been made, yet, in spite of the

¹ Hemlandet, July 28, 1857.

² Ibid, May 25, 1858.

³ Ibid, Jan. 14, 1857.

⁴ Ibid, Sept. 18, 1858.

⁵ Ibid, Jan. 20, 1858.

⁶ Ibid, June issues, 1858.

blistering sun, or the biting cold, he continued the labor of gathering the Swedes into the Lutheran Church.¹ When he arrived at his destination, his clothes were often torn and muddy, but, though weary, he baptized, married, confirmed, buried and preached. Sometimes, after an arduous day's work, the summer night brought no relief from the intense heat, and in winter it was not unusual to awaken with an extra blanket of snow covering his bed. It was under these conditions that Hasselquist is said to have preached four hundred sermons in the course of one year.²

How seriously he considered his mission in the wider field may be judged from his activities during the first year. He had been in Galesburg but a short time when he set out for Chicago. Here the Rev. Paul Andersen had organized a Scandinavian Lutheran Church; but Andersen was a Norwegian, and was unable to care for the Swedes satisfactorily, and Unonius was doing his best to win them for his Episcopalian Church. Andersen and Hasselquist had talked these things over while Hasselquist was recovering from his attack of cholera, and now a Swedish Lutheran congregation was organized which issued a call to the Rev. Erland Carlsson of the Diocese of Växiö. This able man accepted the call, arriving in Chicago to begin his duties before the end of the year 1853.³

From Chicago Hasselquist, accompanied by Andersen, went to St. Charles, Illinois, where they found a Swedish settlement and a church building over which Unonius and the Methodists had battled.⁴ Four days later Hasselquist wrote to his wife that a congregation had been organized and that the church "was and will be a Lutheran church."⁵ In May of the same year he again visited St. Charles, conducting a service which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning to one o'clock in the afternoon, during which he baptized, administered the Lord's Supper, and held the regular service. After dinner, he left for Elgin, where he

¹ Boissy, *Svenska Nationaliteten i Förenta Staterna*, p. 42.

² Beckman, *Amerikanska Studier*, Vol. I, pp. 124-126.

³ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Galesburg, Ill., Sept. 2, 1853.

⁴ Hasselquist to his wife, Chicago, Ill., Jan. 18, 1853, reprinted in Norelius, *Hasselquist*, pp. 41-44.

⁵ *Ibid*, Jan. 22, 1853.

visited a sick woman who desired the Holy Communion, performed the marriage ceremony for one couple, administered Communion to fourteen or fifteen persons, and preached a sermon. He then continued to Jamestown, New York, and Sugar Grove, Pennsylvania, having been informed that the Methodist preacher, Hedstrom, was planning to go to Jamestown, and Hasselquist wanted to be the first man in the "arena."¹ He had just returned from this trip when news reached him that the Baptists were making headway among the Swedes in Burlington and New Sweden, Iowa, and that even the resident Lutheran minister was ready to be baptized. Hasselquist immediately left for New Sweden and was successful in establishing order in the congregation.² During that same year he visited Minnesota to give the Baptists some competition.³ Here he preached in the small Swedish settlements, and the story of his strenuous labors is summed up in the report from Chisago Lake: "He came to us on Monday, and was here only a day, and left on Wednesday morning. He had three meetings, the first on Monday night, then the morning and evening meetings on Tuesday, also administering the Lord's Supper."⁴

This itinerary illustrates the fact that the pioneer period of the Swedish Lutheran Church of America had little to offer its pastors but the opportunity for sacrifice.⁵ After the arrival of Hasselquist only three ordained pastors came to America from Sweden before 1860. These were Erland Carlsson, O. C. T. Andrén, and Jonas Swensson. In 1854, P. A. Cederstam, A. Andreen, and E. Norelius were ordained, and a few more licensed pastors were ordained in 1859.⁶ Appeals were sent to Sweden for help, but no clergyman of the State Church was willing to respond.⁷ The American organization was therefore obliged to depend

¹ Hasselquist to his wife, Chicago, Ill., May 25, 1853, reprinted in Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 41-44.

² A manuscript, perhaps written in 1858, by Norelius called "Svenskarna i Amerika." See also Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 49-50.

³ Norelius to Erland Carlsson, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 4, 1854.

⁴ Korsbaneret, 1888, p. 11.

⁵ J. A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 16, 1871.

⁶ Norelius, Evangelisk Lutherska Augustana Synoden i Nord Amerika, pp. 19-20.

⁷ Hemlandet, Dec. 11, 1855.

upon colporteurs, and even Hasselquist, who realized the dangers involved, was compelled to approve of a moderate use of lay preachers.¹ The leaders were all "straight-laced Puritans in morals and doctrine."² They were all closely associated with the pietists in Sweden. In fact, we can say that the Augustana Synod was a product of the religious revival in Sweden during the middle of the Nineteenth Century.³ The Swedish Lutheran clergymen in America were considerably older than their Norwegian Lutheran brethren. Age nourishes conservatism, and must have been an important factor keeping them united. The Norwegians, on the other hand, due to the contentions among their younger leaders, broke up into several groups. The Swedish Lutherans did not become involved in a strife over the slavery question; they did not become affected by Grundtvigianism and there was no Elling Eielson to keep them constantly agitated.⁴ Through the leadership of Hasselquist, many weaknesses on the part of the younger pastors were overlooked, when a severe correction might have led to difficulties.⁵ As some of these had sympathized with the Reformed churches, it took a great deal of diplomacy to be able to satisfy everyone,⁶ and although this perfect condition was not attained, no one was driven into open revolt.⁷

In the meantime, an important instrument in church extension had developed. Hasselquist had organized the first Sunday school in Galesburg in 1853, and as it was thought that the Swedes would rapidly become Americanized, two out of the five classes were conducted in the English language.⁸ This was distinctly an innovation, as Sunday schools were not a part of the church work in Sweden, religious instruction being given in the public schools. But in America all public instruction was secular, and the Lutheran pastors soon began to realize the value of the Sunday

¹ Hemlandet, Aug. 17, 1859.

² Stephenson, "Background of the Beginning of Swedish Immigration, in American Historical Review, Vol. 31, p. 709.

³ The Augustana Synod, 1860-1910.

⁴ Swedish Historical Society of America, Year-Book, 1923-1924, p. 16.

⁵ Korsbaneret, 1888, p. 141.

⁶ Cederstam to Hasselquist, Chisago Lake, March 25, 1857.

⁷ Hemlandet, Sept. 7, 1859.

⁸ Swedish Historical Society of America, Year-Book, 1922-1923, p. 48.

school. At the first Swedish Lutheran Conference, in 1853, it was recommended that Sunday schools be established in all of the congregations, and that the teaching of the catechism be stressed.¹ At this same meeting, the idea of parochial schools seems to have been discussed,² no record of any formal action being taken until the meeting of the Scandinavian Conferences of the Northern Illinois Synod in 1854, when the organization of such schools was definitely recommended with the suggestion that both the Swedish and English languages be used.³ By 1860 these ideas had been accepted generally, and if a preacher could not be found to take charge, a layman was employed at twenty-five dollars a month. In some settlements where no churches were to be found, barns were fitted up and used for school purposes.⁴

About this time the Swedish Lutheran Church separated from the Northern Illinois Synod, and formed an independent church organization. It had not, within a decade, become a powerful body. At the end of the year 1858 there were only thirteen ministers, twenty-eight or twenty-nine congregations and twenty church buildings, most of which were small, some uncompleted and many burdened with a debt. These twenty churches were distributed over a wide territory, ten in Illinois, five in Minnesota, three in Indiana, one in Iowa, and one in Pennsylvania. The total number of members did not reach the three thousand mark.⁵ Two years later, in 1860, when the Scandinavians declared their independence from the Northern Illinois Synod, the congregations had increased to thirty-nine, and the total number of Scandinavian Lutheran communicants was four thousand, nine hundred and sixty-seven.⁶ There were seventeen preachers, including those who were ordained in 1860.⁷ The causes which led to the organization of the independent church body called the Augustana Synod were many, and will be treated in the following chapter.

¹ Swedish Historical Society of America Year-Book, 1922-1923, p. 48.

² Tidskrift, 1899, p. 9.

³ Swedish Historical Society of America Year-Book, 1922-1923, p. 49.

⁴ Augustana Synod, 1860-1910, p. 30.

⁵ Hemlandet, Dec. 18, 1858.

⁶ Ibid, March 21, 1860.

⁷ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1860.

CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD

Rev. L. P. Esbjorn, upon his arrival in America, had at first stood aloof from any church organization due to the fact that he did not desire to join a Lutheran church body until he had satisfied himself with respect to its doctrinal position. In 1850, the Rev. Paul Andersen and a few Norwegians had organized a Scandinavian Conference, and they immediately asked Esbjorn to become a member. The Swedish clergyman might have desired to join one of the Lutheran Synods in the East, but as the distance was so great, he realized that the best policy would be to affiliate with a Lutheran organization in the West. Therefore, when the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Northern Illinois was organized at Cedarville, Illinois, by American, German, and Norwegian congregations, Esbjorn decided to join this body, even though he was not fully satisfied with its doctrinal position, namely, that the Augsburg Confession was "mainly correct."¹ The Northern Illinois Synod was from its very beginning contaminated by "New Lutheranism," in this being no exception, as the majority of the Lutheran Church organizations in America had been influenced by the many Reformed Churches.² In making this decision, Esbjorn, perhaps, thought that he would be able to reform the Synod into an "old measure" or a strictly orthodox Lutheran body.³

As has been emphasized before, the continual proselyting of various sects made the Swedish Lutheran pastors more conservative, but as they were unable to exert the hoped-for influence upon the Synod, the union of 1851 was rather unfortunate.⁴ It was with great difficulty that Hasselquist

¹ Stephenson, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod*, pp. 17-18.

² *Hemlandet*, Feb. 5, 1867.

³ *Tidskrift*, 1899, p. 273.

⁴ E. Norelius to J. Brolin, Red Wing, Minn. (Date unknown, but probably about 1857.)

overcame his old ideals, especially the belief that it was possible to coöperate with other Lutheran bodies even if the doctrinal matters involved could not be agreed upon. In this respect, Hasselquist can be characterized as a "broad unionist."¹ He also believed in the rapid Americanization of the Swedes, and was unwilling to follow the example set by the Germans, who, he claimed, preached their language rather than the gospel. Realizing that if the Swedish Lutheran Church in America was to live, it could not always retain the Swedish language,² he recommended a number of American papers for reading, especially *The Missionary*, *The Lutheran Standard*, *The Evangelical Lutheran*, and *The Lutheran Observer*.³ But to state that Hasselquist sacrificed any of his principles for "unionism" would be misleading, as he was one of the most persistent defenders of the Augsburg Confession.⁴ Nevertheless, it is true that he had a spirit of toleration unusual among contemporary Swedish Lutherans,⁵ and at an early date he openly revealed his admiration for certain American Lutherans and formed strong friendships with them.⁶

On the other hand, L. P. Esbjorn had become more conservative. In a letter to E. Norelius in 1855 he openly wrote that he did not believe in religious liberty.⁷ At the same time, he became more anti-American, declaring that he had become tired of "the Americans."⁸ In studying the causes that culminated in the separation of the Scandinavian congregations from the Northern Illinois Synod, we find that differences in their views as well as the keen rivalry between Esbjorn and Hasselquist played a very important part in the formation of the Augustana Synod. For the historian, the problem is more a search for causes to explain actions than for actions justified by causes. It is clear

¹ Historical Manuscript by Norelius, 1858. (In the archives of the Augustana Book Concern.)

² *Hemlandet*, June 22, 1858.

³ *Ibid*, May 18, 1855.

⁴ *Ibid*, Nov. 3, 1855.

⁵ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 53.

⁶ *Hemlandet*, May 4, 1855; June 1, 1859.

⁷ Esbjorn to Norelius, Andover, Ill., March 7, 1857.

⁸ Esbjorn to Norelius, Springfield, Ill., Dec., 1859; Andover, Ill., Jan. 7, 1862; Princeton, Ill., July 10, 1857; Chicago, Ill., Oct. 27, 1862.

that Hasselquist was an obstacle, and an obstacle not easily removed or overcome. This was all the more confusing because his whole attitude baffled Esbjorn, in whose presence Hasselquist would defend the General Synod, while before others and in *Hemlandet* he criticized it because of its "broad doctrinal views."¹ However, Hasselquist was consistent in that he would not consent to separate from the Northern Illinois Synod as long as it retained the Augsburg Confession.²

Esbjorn, being the first minister in America among the Swedish Lutherans, undoubtedly felt that he was better acquainted with conditions than his fellow ministers, and that he should enjoy a certain right of seniority. When Hasselquist arrived in 1852, Esbjorn advised him with respect to the work, and sought to make him hostile toward "New Lutheranism."³ Esbjorn's strong insistence upon strict Lutheranism was leading him into great difficulties, as, for instance, his fierce attack upon Unonius' character, who, in turn, was threatening to bring suit for slander.⁴ At this time he asked Hasselquist to come to his assistance in order that "the Swedish Lutheran Church might not be destroyed by my humble person."⁵ Unonius evidently did not press the case and was satisfied with an apology.⁶ Esbjorn's intolerance is further shown in a letter which he wrote to Hasselquist, in which he rebuked the latter's wife for having said that a certain Baptist had preached a "wonderful gospel" in one of his sermons.⁷ In 1855 he found himself unable to cope with conditions in his own congregation in Andover, and was on the verge of resigning when Hasselquist arrived and settled all the difficulties peacefully.⁸

Though Esbjorn was not able to influence Hasselquist in any marked degree, he did succeed with respect to his friend Erik Norelius, the third important figure in these

¹ Esbjorn to Norelius, Princeton, Ill., July 15, 1858.

² Hasselquist to Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., April 18, 1858.

³ Esbjorn to Hasselquist, Andover, Ill., April 30, 1853.

⁴ *Tidskrift*, 1899, p. 24.

⁵ Esbjorn to Hasselquist, Andover, Ill., May 19, 1853.

⁶ *Tidskrift*, 1899, p. 24.

⁷ Esbjorn to Hasselquist, Andover, Ill., June 6, 1853.

⁸ Esbjorn to Erland Carlsson, Andover, Ill., July 4, 1855.

movements. It was Esbjorn who sent Norelius to Capital University, a Lutheran college in Columbus, Ohio,¹ and he who encouraged him to study theology.² But Norelius experiences at Capital University were not pleasant and Norelius and probably Esbjorn formed an antipathy for the president of the institution, Dr. Reynolds,³ and a hostility to all "unholy alliances."⁴ This close friendship between Esbjorn and Norelius had developed long before Hasselquist had any opportunity of knowing Norelius. They first met at a conference held in Chicago in January, 1854. Norelius wrote many years later, that he was very much impressed by the imposing, stately giant, and though he thought Hasselquist "too free" in his views, he felt confident that he would meet with success.⁵ But evidence will show that he never had complete faith in Hasselquist.⁶ On the other hand, Norelius greatly admired Esbjorn, and as early as 1856 desired to write a biography of his friend.⁷ It was Esbjorn who induced Norelius, instead of joining the Synod of Ohio in 1855, to become a member of the Northern Illinois Synod, being confident that the conservative influence of the Scandinavian Lutherans was having a desirable effect upon the Synod, and that the addition of Norelius would strengthen the conservative element.⁸

In spite of this confidence expressed by Esbjorn, it is difficult to say how far the conservative element influenced the Synod. Within the Swedish Lutheran group there existed doctrinal differences which strengthened the misunderstandings between Esbjorn and Hasselquist. A letter from Rev. Erland Carlsson indicates in a startling manner that he had been won by "New Lutheranism." He wrote: "None have yet dared to point with the finger on the Sacred Book, and ask, Where is it written, how do you read? The

¹ Swedish Historical Society of America, Year-Book, 1922-1923, p. 51.

² Esbjorn to Norelius, Andover, Ill., Oct. 28, 1854.

³ Swedish Historical Society of America, Year-Book, 1922-1923, pp. 51-52.

⁴ Esbjorn to Hasselquist, Princeton, Ill., May 8, 1858.

⁵ Korsbaneret, 1888, pp. 110-111.

⁶ Dr. C. W. Foss, who knew both of these men, claims that a real friendly relationship never existed between them. Interview, January, 1930.

⁷ E. Norelius to L. P. Esbjorn, Galesburg, Ill., Jan. 30, 1856.

⁸ L. P. Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Andover, Ill., March 11, 1855.

question is not if these doctrines have a foundation in the Bible or not; but, if we should retain the old confession with its old teachings, or accept the new which conforms with the truth.”¹ If Hasselquist’s spirit of toleration is used as a test of his doctrinal position, he seemed to favor the “New Lutheranism” or the “new measure party.” Accordingly, there was, during all these years, a great deal of contention between Hasselquist and Esbjorn. Perhaps this was unavoidable. Their personal characteristics were so different that misunderstandings easily arose. They both labored for the same cause; both were earnest in their desire to gather the Swedish people into an American Lutheran Church; both had left a comfortable home in Sweden for the laborious and uncomfortable pioneer life in America. Hasselquist had the qualities of a leader, and in his enthusiasm he took orders from no one. His domineering nature often offended his colleagues, and Esbjorn, especially, who was Hasselquist’s senior, believed that he understood the needs in their work as well, if not better than Hasselquist. He was, therefore, often offended when he was not consulted in regard to plans or actions. Some of these differences may have been due to the diverse influences under which they had labored in Sweden. Hasselquist believed in a separation of State and Church, a toleration toward other denominations and in the preaching of law rather than of grace. Such views were considered radical by Esbjorn, who stated definitely that he did not believe in the separation of State and Church.² After being somewhat inclined toward Methodism, he gradually changed his views, becoming a firm believer in the Baptismal Grace, and the impossibility “of the repentance of the fallen.”³ These points of differences, which perhaps appear as of little significance to a layman, must have been an important factor in the definite break between the two leaders, which took place when Esbjorn was appointed professor at the Illinois State University.⁴

¹ Erland Carlsson to Norelius, Dec. 18, 1855.

² J. Engberg to E. Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., Feb. 18, 1856.

³ J. Engberg to E. Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., Jan. 30, 1856.

⁴ Ibid, March 31, 1856.

From the very beginning, the great problem that had confronted the Scandinavians of the Northern Illinois Synod had been the lack of a sufficient number of clergymen. A temporary solution of this problem had been reached by sending a small number of Scandinavian students to Capital University at Columbus, Ohio.¹ But ultimately the problem of training men for the ministry had to be solved, and the unpleasant experience of one of the students while at Columbus undoubtedly caused the Scandinavian Lutherans to decide against any official connection with the Ohio institution.² On the other hand, Esbjorn opposed any connection with the so-called Illinois State University, which, being the creation of the Northern Illinois Synod, he feared was not founded on a sound doctrinal basis.³ But in spite of his opposition, at the Convention of the Northern Illinois Synod held at Waverly, Illinois, it was decided to establish a Scandinavian professorship at the Illinois State University.⁴ The great confidence expressed by the Synod in Esbjorn by appointing him their agent in collecting funds for the professorship among the Scandinavians in America, and the fact that Dr. S. W. Harkey, President of the Synod, wished to bestow the professorship on him, must have been important factors in overcoming his objections. For the time being, he was an enthusiastic supporter of the proposed coöperation with the Northern Illinois Synod.⁵ Hasselquist also viewed this solution of the educational problems of the Scandinavians with interest, as he hoped that his friend, Dr. P. Fjellstedt of Sweden, would receive the appointment,⁶ a hope which caused him, when Esbjorn was actually selected in 1857, to voice his disappointment.⁷

The third important Swedish leader, Norelius, should now have been satisfied with the Northern Illinois Synod. His friend had been selected a member of the faculty of its educational institution, but he was far from pleased with

¹ Tidskrift, 1899, p. 269.

² Swedish Historical Society of America, Year Book, 1922-1923, pp. 51-52.

³ Tidskrift, 1899, p. 268.

⁴ Hemlandet, Feb. 15, 1856.

⁵ L. P. Esbjorn to Rev. Erland Carlsson, Andover, Ill., Nov. 23, 1855.

⁶ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 65-66.

⁷ L. P. Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Princeton, Ill., July 10, 1857.

the proposed coöperation, and protested against this as well as Hasselquist's Reformed tendencies which were being expressed in *Hemlandet*.¹ He began to plan the publication of another newspaper to counteract the influence of Hasselquist, and looked for an opportunity of severing all connections between the Swedes and the Northern Illinois Synod, a move which would make possible the establishment of a school which would prove a more satisfactory solution of the educational problems of the Swedish Lutherans. Esbjorn had not forgotten Hasselquist's opposition to his appointment and would gladly have joined Norelius in the establishment of the school, if it had not been for the severe climate of Minnesota, where the proposed institution was to be located. Hasselquist discovered the plans of Norelius and made a trip to Minnesota in an endeavor to avoid a schism.² But he was not successful,³ and as Norelius' schemes of separation ripened, Hasselquist was placed in a difficult position. Norelius proposed a Swedish Lutheran Synod, independent of the Northern Illinois Synod, and threatened that in case Esbjorn and Hasselquist were not in favor, he would coöperate with Rev. C. F. Heyer in the establishment of a Minnesota Synod and thus divide the Swedish Lutherans.⁴

Hasselquist looked upon this plan of Norelius as a challenge, forcing him to choose between his love for his countrymen on the one hand and his ideals of "unionism" on the other. He preferred the latter and denounced the organization of a Swedish Lutheran Synod on the ground that it would be based purely on a nationalistic sentiment and therefore would be detrimental to the Church, by preventing a rapid Americanization and probably causing the Swedes to follow the example set by the Germans in stressing the language more than the gospel. Norelius was also reminded that in case he joined in the organization of a Minnesota Synod, he had no guarantee that this new group would not adopt the broad doctrinal basis of the General

¹ L. P. Esbjorn to Erland Carlsson, Princeton, Ill., Feb. 24, 1857.

² L. P. Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Princeton, Ill., July 10, 1857.

³ Erland Carlsson to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 13, 1857.

⁴ E. Norelius to P. A. Cederstam, Red Wing, Minn., April 14, 1858.

Synod.¹ Hasselquist's views were fixed, he was satisfied with the Northern Illinois Synod, and would favor no separation from that body unless the Scandinavians were "driven out" by doctrinal laxity.² Being unable to carry out his plans for the organization of a Swedish Lutheran Synod, Erik Norelius took steps toward joining the organization of the Minnesota Synod which was to consist of the Lutherans in Minnesota regardless of nationality. But Hasselquist tried in every way to check the separatistic activities of Norelius, and criticized Esbjorn severely for the encouragement he had given.³ The criticism was so severe that even Erland Carlsson did not think it was warranted,⁴ although Hasselquist had won him for his cause. These two men agreed, however, to check the activities of Norelius, in addition to whom there were three other Swedish Lutheran clergymen in Minnesota involved. Through letters advising two of these to refrain from further negotiations, Hasselquist and Carlsson completely crippled the plans, as it would be unwise to take drastic measures and join the Minnesota Synod without the support of the three clergymen in Minnesota who were interested in the project.⁵

As a result of these developments, Norelius had been placed in a dilemma. He immediately began to find excuses that would absolve him from any blame that might be attached to his name. He wrote to Erland Carlsson that he had not originated the idea of a Minnesota Synod consisting of all Lutherans in Minnesota, but that he had merely hoped through an affiliation of the Swedish Lutherans in Minnesota with the proposed Synod to strengthen the Swedish Lutheran Church in that state.⁶ Hasselquist was also told that Dr. W. A. Passavant of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, whom he greatly admired, was behind the plans of Norelius,⁷ but he had not been told that Passavant had expressively written to Norelius not to join the other Lu-

¹ Hemlandet, June 22, 1858.

² Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., May 24, 1858.

³ L. P. Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Princeton, Ill., June 15, 1858.

⁴ Erland Carlsson to Hasselquist, Geneva, Ill., May 12, 1858.

⁵ Ibid, June 18, 1858; Historical Manuscript of Norelius, 1858.

⁶ E. Norelius to Erland Carlsson, Red Wing, Minn., July 1, 1858.

⁷ L. P. Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Princeton, Ill., July 15, 1858.

therans in Minnesota unless it was done with the cordial advice and approval of the Swedish brethren in Illinois,¹ and also in a later letter had stated: "You were and are most anxious to do anything to divide and interrupt the present harmony which exists among the Swedish brethren."² Norelius, therefore, in the face of the disapproval of Passavant, the disapproval of P. A. Cederstam and Peter Carlson, the two Minnesota ministers with whom Erland Carlsson and Hasselquist had corresponded, and the determined opposition of these two influential leaders, decided not to affiliate with the Minnesota Synod, which was formed in 1858 by the Lutherans of Minnesota.³

Norelius' plan of organizing an independent Swedish Lutheran Synod was not only a protest against the liberalism and broad unionist tendencies of Hasselquist, but a serious attempt to sever the connection of the Swedish Lutherans with the Northern Illinois Synod as well. This Synod was a member of the General Synod in which nearly all Lutheran bodies in America were connected. But the General Synod had become contaminated with "New Lutheranism" and its adoption of "the Definite Synodical Platform" in 1857 was considered by the "Old Measure" Lutherans a challenge to orthodoxy. Although many of the Synods refused to adopt this "Definite Platform,"⁴ Norelius and Esbjorn became alarmed and offended by the step. Therefore, when Hasselquist stated that he liked "the broad doctrinal stand" taken by the General Synod, they became perplexed.⁵ However, after Hasselquist and Esbjorn had attended the Convention of the General Synod at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1859, even the former expressed a firm disapproval of "New Lutheranism" and the doctrinal laxity of the Synod in receiving into membership the Melancthon Synod, which had not accepted the Augsburg Confession as the fundamental basis of its doctrinal position.⁶

¹ Dr. W. A. Passavant to E. Norelius, Pittsburgh, Pa., May 19, 1858.

² Dr. W. A. Passavant to E. Norelius, Pittsburgh, Pa., June 26, 1858.

³ Tidskrift, 1899, p. 299.

⁴ Hemlandet, June 17, 1857.

⁵ L. P. Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Princeton, Ill., July 15, 1858.

⁶ Hemlandet, June 1, 1859.

This "New Lutheranism" which had gained momentum in the General Synod gradually tainted its individual Synods, but the Scandinavians of the Northern Illinois Synod, pointing to the many victories in behalf of "Old Lutheranism," had become confident that their organization was immune to the dreaded heresy.

A small number of "New Lutherans" within the Northern Illinois Synod naturally were not satisfied and protested against the ultra orthodox influence of the Scandinavians. In 1857 and in 1859 they were strengthened in number and under the able leadership of Francis Springer they began to voice their protests against the love of the European Lutherans for symbols and the Augsburg Confession, which in their mind was only "an antiquated document."¹ At the gathering of the Northern Illinois Synod at Chicago in 1859 these discontented members decided to test their growing strength by proposing certain changes in the Constitution of the Synod, which would be more in accordance with their doctrinal stand. But they immediately discovered that the principles of "Old Lutheranism" were too deeply entrenched to be outrooted. The Scandinavians once more scored a decided victory, but the cleavage between the two doctrinal parties had been widened. In protest to this Scandinavian influence a number of members asked for permission to withdraw, as they were unable to subscribe to an unaltered Augsburg Confession, but this privilege was denied.²

Francis Springer led the discontented group, and L. P. Esbjorn was compelled to wage the war in behalf of the "Old Lutherans."³ Esbjorn grew weary of this controversy and as Springer seemed to have won ground, this doctrinal struggle gave the former the opinion that there was a general opposition among the Americans toward the Symbolical Books.⁴ Due to his work as the Scandinavian professor at Illinois State University, he was separated from the rest of the Scandinavians and felt lonely. Being a stranger among a group of Americans who evidently did not sym-

¹ G. Stephenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-72.

² *Hemlandet*, Sept. 14, 1859.

³ G. Stephenson, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

⁴ L. P. Esbjorn to Dear Brother, Springfield, Ill., Oct. 22, 1859.

pathize with his doctrinal views, he began to regard his stay at Springfield as a "Babylonian Captivity." It was, therefore, only natural that he should hope that the Scandinavians might be able to solve their educational problem by establishing a seminary of their own at Chicago.¹ President Harkey of the Northern Illinois Synod realized that the ties between the Scandinavians and the Americans were becoming strained. He accordingly acted swiftly and in an attempt to save the situation called an extra Synodical Convention to meet at Dixon, Illinois, December 6-8, 1859. Here by a masterful *coup d'état*, he sided with the Scandinavians against the Americans who at the last Synodical Convention had threatened separation, if the Synod did not yield on its stand upon the Augsburg Confession. Judging by this action, "New Lutheranism" seemed to be discredited by the Northern Illinois Synod.

The Dixon Convention had been a victory for the Scandinavians, and Esbjorn had every reason to be satisfied, although he and a few others had objected to certain expressions used by Dr. Harkey.² But the relationship between Esbjorn and W. M. Reynolds, the president of the Illinois State University, which for some time had not been the very best, became even less cordial.³ Esbjorn and Norelius, before the Dixon Conference, had been pondering the possibilities of severing the connection between the Scandinavians and the Northern Illinois Synod, and had also introduced Erland Carlsson to their plans.⁴ The victory at Dixon was of little significance to them. The greatest obstacle to the separation was Hasselquist, whom they thought might be won over by offering his brother-in-law the editorship of *Hemlandet*. Fearing that the support of Hasselquist might not be so easily secured, Esbjorn and Norelius also decided to act unexpectedly in order that Hasselquist might not have a chance to thwart them before they were able to put their plans into action.⁵ Hasselquist

¹ L. P. Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Springfield, Ill., Oct. 26, 1859.

² G. Stephenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 76-80.

³ G. Stephenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-80.

⁴ L. P. Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Springfield, Ill., Nov. 15, 1859.

⁵ *Ibid*, Jan. 26, 1860.

was approached very cautiously; Esbjorn wrote about his dissatisfaction over the conditions at Springfield,¹ and Erland Carlsson informed him that he believed that nothing short of separation might take place.²

As planned, Esbjorn resigned suddenly, though a little sooner than he had desired. He had attacked Dr. Reynolds' views on doctrinal matters, and the latter had threatened to call Esbjorn to task by bringing the case before the faculty of the university and the Synod. Therefore, Esbjorn hurriedly resigned "in order to be out of reach of Reynolds." Norelius was informed almost immediately of Esbjorn's action and was requested to do all in his power to prevent Reynolds from influencing the Scandinavians.³ Esbjorn also wrote immediately to Hasselquist, praying him not to listen to either Reynolds or Harkey before he had heard his version of the story.⁴ It is doubtful if Hasselquist approved of Esbjorn's resignation from the professorship,⁵ but it was also evident that he had no choice and was compelled to defend Esbjorn in order to avoid dividing the Swedish Lutherans on the question. He hoped, however, that his stand would not affect his friendship with the president of the Synod,⁶ and later in his life, Hasselquist preferred not to comment upon these incidents.⁷ However, if there had not existed a warm friendship between Harkey and Hasselquist, some other facts might have been disclosed about Esbjorn's resignation.⁸

After Esbjorn had resigned, it was necessary to make a public explanation. He claimed that his freedom as a teacher had been hampered and that he had not been permitted to exert the religious supervision of the Scandinavian students that had been agreed upon when the professorship was established.⁹ Chief stress, however, was laid

¹ L. P. Esbjorn to Hasselquist, Springfield, Ill., Jan. 12, 1860.

² Erland Carlsson to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 29, 1860.

³ L. P. Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Springfield, Ill., April 3, 1860.

⁴ L. P. Esbjorn to Hasselquist, Springfield, Ill., April 2, 1860.

⁵ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 70. (M. F. Håkanson to Norelius.)

⁶ Hasselquist to S. W. Harkey, Galesburg, Ill., April 9, 1860.

⁷ C. M. Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., March 26, 1888.

⁸ S. W. Harkey to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 11, 1889.

⁹ L. P. Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., June 19, 1860.

on the doctrinal differences that caused the Scandinavians to "have and still occupy a defensive position in our Synod."¹ The Scandinavian congregations were easily satisfied. They justified Esbjorn's resignation and decided to withdraw from the Northern Illinois Synod in view of the misunderstandings so likely in the future, in case they remained. This decision was reached at the United Scandinavian Conference held at Chicago, April 23-27, 1860, at which it was decided to convene again at Clinton, Wisconsin.² Here on June 5, 1860, the resolutions passed earlier at Chicago were carried into effect by the organization of a Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod, and the man who had probably been least anxious for this sudden step was elected president of the organization.³ No careful plan of government had been prepared and due to the fact that the congregations had first developed and thereafter had organized into Conferences and finally into a Synod, the essential powers of legislation remained vested in the congregations, and the Synod became primarily an advisory body. As president of the Augustana Synod it was Hasselquist's task to strengthen the powers of the Synod and make its continued existence sure.⁴

¹ Olive Branch, February, 1860.

² Olive Branch, June, 1860.

³ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1860.

⁴ Augustana Synoden, 1860-1910, p. 50.

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF AUGUSTANA COLLEGE AND THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The newly organized Augustana Synod had to solve its own educational problems. The first Constitution provided that the Synod should own and control a Seminary for the purpose of training men for the ministry, and preparing teachers for the parochial schools.¹ It was to be located temporarily in Chicago. The faculty was to consist of "a Swedish Professor," "a Norwegian Professor," and "an English Professor."² L. P. Esbjorn was appointed professor of Theology and manager,³ but due to the misunderstanding existing between him and Hasselquist, the latter was obliged to take the burdens upon his own shoulders and solve the many problems that arose.

Because of the separation from the Northern Illinois Synod, the newly organized Synod could not expect much aid from other American Lutheran churches, and, as the lack of funds to carry on the work properly was very evident, a closer connection with Sweden was sought. Hasselquist received an appointment to visit Sweden and appeal for financial aid. However, he declined the appointment, and Rev. O. C. T. Andrén undertook this responsible mission.⁴ More than \$10,000 was received from Sweden for the Seminary,⁵ and the King of Sweden contributed 5,000 volumes to the library of the new institution.⁶ Capital University at Columbus, Ohio, was also interviewed for financial aid. In 1852, Jenny Lind Goldsmith had given a fund to this university for the purpose of creating a Scandinavian professorship. This professorship had never been

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1860, p. 21.

² Ibid, p. 24.

³ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 90.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1861.

⁵ The Alumnus, Vol. I, No. 1.

⁶ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1863.

established at Columbus, and Esbjorn hoped that the fund might be used for the Seminary in Chicago. He visited Columbus and presented the request. A little later a letter was received from the university stating that it was considered just to turn the fund over to the Seminary,¹ as there was no prospect of fulfilling the intent of the Jenny Lind donation at Capital University. Therefore, as soon as possible, provided there were no legal obstacles in the way, the donation was to be given to the Augustana Seminary.² However, this promise was never carried out.³ An attempt was also made to secure the money contributed toward the Scandinavian professorship at Illinois State University at Springfield, Illinois, and, after a long dispute, the Augustana Seminary received \$750 from this source.⁴

The Swedish immigrants were poor. The \$1,500 for the Scandinavian professorship at Springfield had been collected with difficulty.⁵ It is therefore possible to say that the Scandinavians would not have been able to cope with the educational problem at this time had not substantial aid been received from Sweden, and if one of the leaders had not tried to solve the problem through a colonization scheme. Even the temporary existence of the Seminary in the basement of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in Chicago was precarious in spite of the low rent. The professor must be paid, and the students must be provided with food and lodging. During the first two years Rev. L. P. Esbjorn did not receive his full salary,⁶ and conditions became so acute in 1862 that the Synod thought it wise to close the Seminary two months early, and to grant Esbjorn leave of absence to visit Sweden.⁷

Hasselquist had become interested in a colonization plan for the Swedes in Galesburg, where the effects of the panic of 1857 were severely felt, and it was not difficult for him to enlarge his plans for the colony to include a Seminary.

¹ Hemlandet, July 18, 1860.

² The Missionary, August 9, 1860.

³ Hasselquist to Jenny Lind Goldsmith, Paxton, Ill., May 5, 1871.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1863, p. 22.

⁵ The Alumnus, Vol. I, No. 1.

⁶ Esbjorn to Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 25, 1861.

⁷ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1862, p. 15.

He opposed all cities as being evil, and regarded the location of the Seminary in Chicago as very dangerous, even if it were only temporary, and immediately began plans for its removal. A group of Lutherans in the East offered three thousand four hundred acres of land for a colony in Grundy County, Iowa. For this the Synod was to pay the low price of two dollars and fifty cents an acre if it bought all of the land with the exception of seven hundred and ten acres, which it would receive as a gift. However, after an inspection of this territory, Hasselquist found the land unsatisfactory. But this did not check his plans for a large Swedish Colony in the center of which a Seminary was to be located which would gradually become "a complete American College."¹ Other sites were also considered, but the Synod did not dare buy a large tract of land for fear that there would not be enough buyers.² The enthusiasm of the Synod for the colony began to wane, due to the Civil War and its uncertainties. In spite of this, when an offer came from the Illinois Central Railroad, Hasselquist redoubled his efforts to induce the Synod to carry out his plans.³ Erland Carlsson had sympathized with Hasselquist's idea, though he had opposed Iowa as a location, but he now hesitated, fearing that the Civil War would bring about a fall in the price of land.⁴ However, when Hasselquist showed his determination not to be thwarted, Erland Carlsson came to his support, and assured Hasselquist that he would not withdraw his assistance.⁵ This was sufficient to overrule the opposition the plan met from the Minnesota pastors,⁶ and Esbjorn's warnings that Hasselquist was attempting to Americanize the Swedes too quickly had little effect.⁷ As a first step, Rev. A. Jacobsen was appointed missionary among the Scandinavian immigrants at Montreal and Quebec, his task being to direct the immigrants to the colony in

¹ Hemlandet, Nov. 28, 1860.

² Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1862.

³ The most interesting source on the subject are letters of J. Engberg to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., March 18, 1862, June 14, 1862, and Feb. 13, 1863.

⁴ Erland Carlsson to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Jan. 30, 1862.

⁵ Ibid, August 30, 1862.

⁶ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 97.

⁷ Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., October, 1862.

Illinois.¹ Undoubtedly Hasselquist's visit to New York was also in the interest of the colony, although it was supposed to be for the purpose of organizing a congregation.²

In February, 1863, Hasselquist came to Chicago to sign the contract with the Illinois Central Railroad. He was nervous and restless for fear that in the last minute something might happen to check his plans, having heard rumors of an objectionable clause in the contract, namely, that the president of the railroad company was to be the sole judge as to whether the contract had been properly carried out. However, Hasselquist succeeded in having this clause changed³ and the contract was signed. The Seminary and the colony were to be located at Paxton, Illinois, about one hundred miles south of Chicago, and P. L. Hawkinson was employed as land agent for the Seminary.⁴ So far, Hasselquist had met with success. To him, it was more than an attempt to secure funds for the educational institution of the Synod; it was more than just a colony; it was an attempt to centralize the Swedes and to attract them from the cities to the farms.⁵

According to the contract, the Seminary would receive a commission of one dollar per acre for the first thirty thousand acres sold, and fifty cents an acre for the next thirty thousand acres, but ten thousand acres must be sold during the first year, and one thousand acres must be purchased for the Seminary near Paxton at six dollars an acre. If the Seminary failed to comply with these terms of the contract, the same was to be void, but the purchase of the one thousand acres for the Seminary was to be in force, and a commission guaranteed for the number of acres already sold.⁶ Hasselquist felt that the future of the Seminary was assured, as he believed that the one thousand acres bought

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1862, p. 6. (This was never carried out, due, perhaps, to lack of funds.)

² Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 83.

³ J. Engberg to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 13, 1863.

⁴ Hemlandet, Feb. 18, 1863.

⁵ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., April 9, 1864; Hemlandet, August 3, 1864.

⁶ E. Carlsson to Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 12, 1863; Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 98-99.

for the Seminary could be sold at a profit of from two to four thousand dollars. The sales started well. Before the end of the first year the land agent had disposed of about six thousand acres.¹ The Civil War did not seem to have a detrimental effect upon the colony, as the North was peaceful, and the only possible threat that Hasselquist could think of was a Democratic victory in Illinois.² Through his colonization scheme Hasselquist expected that the Seminary would be more able to supply the great need for pastors within the Synod, and that the financial burden would be made lighter.³ There were only a few Swedes in the neighborhood of Paxton before the colony was founded,⁴ but in a short time there was a sufficiently large number to organize a congregation. Hasselquist had, during the years he had spent in Galesburg, learned to love the town and his home there, but now he decided to break these ties and organize the Paxton congregation, and become its pastor,⁵ in order that he might be able to aid the work of the colony.⁶ An evidence of the devotion that many of the members of his first congregation had for him is shown by the fact that eighty-three members moved from Knoxville and Galesburg to Paxton when Hasselquist took charge of the church at that place.⁷

Rev. L. P. Esbjorn, who had opposed moving the Seminary to Paxton, became more and more dissatisfied with his position in America.⁸ He began to complain about "homesickness," but Hasselquist showed no great amount of sympathy, for he writes that he wonders what would happen if all the ministers of the Augustana Synod became "homesick."⁹ Both Norelius and Esbjorn, though successful in 1860, began to feel more and more uncomfortable in America. They objected to and disliked Hasselquist's de-

¹ Hasselquist to O. C. T. Andrén, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 9, 1863.

² Ibid, Galesburg, Ill., Jan. 20, 1863.

³ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1863, p. 5.

⁴ Minnesalbum, Paxton, Ill., 1903.

⁵ Hemlandet, July 1, 1863; Hasselquist to S. G. Larson, Paxton, Ill., Oct. 3, 1864.

⁶ Erland Carlsson to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 21, 1862.

⁷ Paxton Swedish Lutheran Church Records, 1863-1867.

⁸ Esbjorn to Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Oct. 27, 1862.

⁹ Hasselquist to O. C. T. Andrén, Galesburg, Ill., Oct. 11, 1861.

termination to rule, for their importance seemed gradually to decline. As early as 1861, Esbjorn planned to return to Sweden, and promised Norelius to do all in his power to secure a pastorate for him there. Esbjorn felt that his services in America were no longer needed and that he had been ignored when others were called to professorships in the new Seminary.¹ He, therefore, expressed the wish that God would provide a place in Sweden for both him and Norelius.² While Esbjorn was on a leave of absence in Sweden, P. Waldenström was called to take his place, and though Esbjorn advised him to accept, Waldenström declined the call.³ Thereupon Rev. O. C. T. Andrén, who had so successfully carried out his mission in Sweden, and had remained there, was sought, but when an effort was made to secure his services for the Seminary, he also declined.⁴ A call was then extended to S. L. Bring, also in Sweden, but without success.⁵ In 1863, Esbjorn officially resigned his position as professor of Theology to accept a pastorate in Sweden, and thus the man who had been the first Swedish Lutheran minister in America and who had played such an important part in the formation of the Augustana Synod passed out of its history.⁶

Hasselquist was then made, for the time being, Professor of Theology to fill the vacancy until someone could be secured.⁷ However, this position became permanent, as no one was found who was willing to accept the place. No one knew that Hasselquist had not been properly appointed; his position was taken for granted; and it was not until 1875 that he was formally called to the presidency of Augustana College and Theological Seminary.⁸ His many duties as president of the Augustana Synod had weighed heavily upon Hasselquist, and he accepted the call to the

¹ Esbjorn to Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 28, 1861.

² Esbjorn to Norelius, Andover, Ill., Jan. 7, 1862.

³ Waldenström, *Nya Färder i Amerikas Förenta Stater*, p. 268. (As there existed such a great need for pastors in the Augustana Synod, the attitude of Esbjorn and Norelius was most peculiar.) See *Hemlandet*, Aug. 3, 1858.

⁴ Augustana Synod, *Protokoll*, 1863, p. 10.

⁵ Hasselquist to O. C. T. Andrén, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 9, 1863.

⁶ J. Engberg to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 16, 1863.

⁷ Nothstein, *My Church*, Vol. IV, p. 25.

⁸ Olson, *The Swedish Element in Illinois*, p. 121.

Seminary in hopes that these duties might be lessened. But, on the contrary, they were increased.¹ However, it is undoubtedly true that Hasselquist exerted his greatest influence as president of the institution, for through personal contact with the students and in his travels to the different congregations he placed a stamp upon the whole ministry of the Augustana Synod.²

For a time he served as a professor. He taught Languages, Mathematics, History, Philosophy, and other subjects to a group of twelve students.³ At this time only the Seminary existed, and he immediately began to work for the goal he had set for the Synod, the possession of "a complete American College." A call was extended to Rev. H. Baugher through the recommendation of Dr. A. W. Passavant of Pittsburgh and Prof. Schaeffer of Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, in an attempt to secure an English professor, and thus to comply with the original plan of three teachers. As Baugher declined, a call was given to Rev. W. Kopp from the Western Pennsylvania Synod.⁴ He accepted and began his work in the fall of 1864, which year also marks the inauguration of the preparatory department.⁵

As no Norwegian professor could be secured, Hasselquist sent Rev. O. Estrem to Philadelphia to study at the Lutheran Seminary in that city, in order that he might prepare himself to fill the position.⁶ The fund collected for the Norwegian professorship already amounted to \$5,471.50, and the income it yielded was used to pay the expenses of Rev. O. Estrem while he was in Philadelphia.⁷ Hasselquist had a great deal of faith in Estrem, and it seemed as if the original plan of the Synod was about to be realized,⁸ but Estrem proved a great disappointment to the Synod, for after the completion of his studies, he began to accuse the

¹ Hasselquist to O. C. T. Andrén, Paxton, Ill., May 10, 1865.

² Hemlandet, Feb. 5, 1891.

³ Minne av den Andre Mars, 1886, p. 6.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1864, p. 12.

⁵ Hemlandet, July 13, 1864.

⁶ Hasselquist to the Faculty of the Ev. Luth. Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, Sept. 20, 1864.

⁷ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1865, p. 27.

⁸ Hasselquist to Estrem, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 7, 1865.

organization of holding erroneous views on certain theological questions. He withdrew from the Augustana Synod and joined the Norwegian Wisconsin Synod.¹ Therefore other arrangements had to be made. During the year 1866–67 a student, J. Olsen, taught Norwegian,² but during 1867–68 the Seminary had no Norwegian professor, and it was not until 1868 that Rev. A. Weenaas accepted the position. During the year 1867 Rev. W. Kopp was compelled to resign his position as English instructor because of illness, and no one was found to take his place until in 1868, when a Rev. S. L. Harkey was secured, thus at last completing the faculty of three professors at Augustana College and Theological Seminary.³ Naturally, when the Norwegians began their own school in 1869, and withdrew from the Synod in 1870, there was no further need for a Norwegian professor. But as the number of students increased, the number of teachers kept pace.⁴ The school weathered many storms and often met disappointments, as in the case of A. J. Lindstrom, who had been sent in 1863 to the University of Uppsala, Sweden, to prepare himself to teach. He obtained his degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and returned to America to take the position that was awaiting him. But he had taught only three months when he became ill and was obliged to discontinue his work, dying in 1872.⁵ Hasselquist was accordingly obliged to teach many varied subjects in the Seminary even as late as 1875.⁶

The growth of the College was very slow. The leaders were conservative, and the chronic lack of sufficient means retarded its development.⁷ After Hasselquist had accepted his position as a teacher and president of the Seminary, he began to fear that the Civil War might after all wreck his whole plan for a colony.⁸ A great deal of opposition was felt, and rumors spread that the soil around Paxton was

¹ The Alumnus, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 26, 27.

² Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1867.

³ The Alumnus, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 26, 27.

⁴ Augustana College and Seminary Catalogues, 1870–75.

⁵ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, February, 1872.

⁶ Augustana College and Seminary Catalogue, 1874–75.

⁷ Augustana Synod, 1860–1910, p. 94.

⁸ Nothstein, My Church, Vol. IV, p. 26.

not fertile.¹ This strong opposition together with the fact that some believed that Hasselquist had only been interested in the colony for monetary reasons influenced him to stop pushing land sales. He claimed that he would as willingly have gone to any other state had only the Swedes in Illinois followed him.² But during this critical period he kept up hope, and in 1865 there were many indications that the undertaking would prove a success. It was reasonable to believe that the land bought from the Railroad Company could be sold at an increase of \$9.00 an acre, thus making a profit of \$9,000 on the one thousand acres purchased for the Seminary. If that could be done, the fact that the land agent had not sold the number of acres agreed upon in the contract need not have been discouraging.³ For some time it seemed as if Hasselquist was right. The Swedish settlement increased, the school prospered, the enrollment grew, and all school facilities were improved.⁴ In 1865, a second building, containing a large classroom, a library and four rooms for students, was erected to care for the increased enrollment.⁵ Paxton itself prospered, and in six months sixty new houses were built, thus giving encouragement to those who believed that Paxton would in time become a city.⁶

However, this enthusiasm was short-lived. A farmhouse upon the school property burned and caused a loss of \$600.⁷ Hasselquist, who claimed that he had nothing to do with the financial end of the institution, sometimes acted on his own initiative and not always for the best interests of the school's finances. He opposed any action to compel renters to leave the farms if they were unable to pay their rent, and he also refused to sanction many other severe measures which the school officials wished to carry out. He wrote to Erland Carlsson, "This truly makes me feel sorry for O. A., for he is suffering unjustly by being compelled to

¹ Hemlandet, Aug. 24, 1864.

² Hasselquist to Norelius, Paxton, Ill., July 2, 1864.

³ Hasselquist to A. Lindstrom, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 20, 1866.

⁴ Hemlandet, Aug. 23, 1865.

⁵ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, June, 1872.

⁶ Paxton Record, Oct. 19, 1865.

⁷ Hemlandet, Jan. 16, 1866.

sell his cattle which he has fed through the winter.”¹ It was also becoming apparent that Paxton would never develop into a city in spite of its growth in 1865.² The expectation that the land belonging to the institution could be sold at the large profit was dissipated, when the Illinois Central Railway reduced the price of its lands to two dollars an acre in 1866. Thus the principal factor that had determined the location of the Seminary ceased to be effective. The American people in Paxton neglected to give the support that they had promised.³ But the need was pressing, as the students could not be given proper accommodations.⁴ Hasselquist therefore appealed to both the Swedish and Norwegian congregations for help in order that this acute condition might be relieved.⁵ The ministers of the Augustana Synod, as well as the congregations, were guilty of gross negligence toward the school during the whole of the period at Paxton.⁶ These crises became more difficult to overcome as the number of students who received free board and room increased, while the price of all foodstuffs also rose.⁷

Although the colonization plan had not proved to be as successful as the leader had hoped, the institution profited to the extent of \$14,000 from 1863 to 1868 as the land agent of the Illinois Central.⁸ In 1868 the agency was discontinued, but down to 1875 the sale of part of the land owned by the Synod was an important factor in providing the means of maintenance.⁹ However, much credit must be given to the man who more than any other was the founder. He was willing to wait for months for his salary; he performed the unpleasant task of borrowing money for the school when he had no way of knowing where funds could be secured to pay it back.¹⁰ In 1869 he received no salary,

¹ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson (no date), MS., Vol. I, pp. 171-174.

² Hasselquist to A. O. Ahlenius, Paxton, Ill., March 3, 1865.

³ Norelius, *Ev. Luth. Augustana Synoden i Nord Amerika*, p. 31.

⁴ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 26, 1866.

⁵ Hasselquist to F. P. Lundblad, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 26, 1866.

⁶ Hasselquist to G. Peters, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 10, 1873.

⁷ Augustana Synod, *Protokoll*, 1867, p. 25.

⁸ *The Alumnus*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 27-28.

⁹ Augustana Synod, *Protokoll*, 1872, pp. 32-33.

¹⁰ Hasselquist to N. Anderson, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 7, 1867.

and he paid the salaries of others teachers, who could not wait, out of his personal account.¹ When the necessity became imperative, he was able by diplomacy to raise enough money in the various congregations to make the existence of the school possible, but a continual begging for funds from the congregations grew tiresome.

Another great problem was that of food. During the years 1868 and 1869 thirty students were given their room and all of their board, and a few others were relieved of part of their expenses. This cost the institution \$2,527.28. The congregations showed negligence and carelessness in sending contributions to the school household. There existed a so-called Educational Society, whose duty was to gather money for these household needs, but as this society did not function properly, all of the responsibility devolved upon Hasselquist. In spite of discouragement from many sources, he felt that he must work with more energy than ever, because it was only through this educational policy that the Synod could receive the needed ministers to carry on its work.² But it was also becoming evident that a radical change must take place, and to move the institution seemed the most feasible step, as many attributed the negligence on the part of the congregations to the fact that Paxton was situated too far away from the principal Swedish settlements.³

Before entering upon the subject of the removal of the Augustana College and Theological Seminary, a short description of the student life in Paxton might be interesting. According to the statistics in the catalogue for 1876-1877, there was an enrollment of from fifteen to twenty students when Esbjorn resigned in 1863. But these figures do not represent the true condition, for when the Seminary closed in 1863, there were only seven Swedes and two Norwegians present.⁴ This was a considerable decline from the year

¹ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 11, 1870. Probably this negligence was partly due to the fact that it was generally believed that Hasselquist was well-to-do. Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 3, 1871.

² Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1869, pp. 23-24.

³ Norelius, Ev. Luth. Augustana Synoden i Nord Amerika, p. 31.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1863, p. 23.

1861–1862, when eleven Swedes and ten Norwegians were enrolled.¹ The first year in Paxton showed an increase of one student over the last year in Chicago.² A very noticeable increase, however, began in 1865–66, when forty students attended the school; while the highest mark was reached during the last year at Paxton, when the enrollment stood at ninety.³

From the earliest time, it was understood that the students should receive beneficiary aid. This aid was to be given to all impecunious scholars who were preparing to enter the ministry or to teach in the parochial schools. The only condition attached to this assistance was that if he should decide not to take up the ministry or teaching as his life-work, the student was to return all the money he had received.⁴ In many cases it was also necessary to provide clothing.⁵ In spite of the fact that many were thus enabled to prepare themselves for the ministry who otherwise would have found it impossible, the students often complained about the food (that it was too salty, that there was no change in menu), and when these complaints reached Hasselquist, he investigated the matter and found that the students at Augustana enjoyed a better bill of fare than he had been accustomed to when he was a student in Sweden.⁶ Because so much encouragement was extended, great care was exercised in selecting the students for the Seminary. They must be highly recommended, and there was not to be the least stain upon their character.⁷ Hasselquist tried not to be unjust to any applicant, but he hesitated in accepting anyone who came with a plea that he had just repented from his sins and desired to enter the ministry.⁸ He tried to ascertain if the candidate had gone through a true conversion,⁹ as this seemed to him the most important requisite.

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1862, p. 21.

² Ibid, 1864, p. 16.

³ Nothstein, *My Church*, Vol. IV, p. 30.

⁴ Hasselquist to J. Torneson, Paxton, Ill., May 14, 1864.

⁵ Kronberg, *Banbrytaren*, pp. 104–105.

⁶ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., March 24, 1864.

⁷ Hasselquist to N. Anderson, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 20, 1864.

⁸ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 10, 1865.

⁹ *Hemlandet*, 1868, No. 37.

As early as 1860 the founder had dreamed of a "complete American College" and this ideal must have been accepted by the Board of Directors when they, in 1862, decided to name the school Augustana College and Seminary.¹ On February 16, 1865, the Legislature of Illinois approved the charter, which was only slightly amended in 1869.² At this time the name was officially changed to Augustana College and Theological Seminary, and the privilege of conferring the degree of Master of Arts was also granted.³ There were some who complained that the institution was rapidly becoming Americanized, because in the year 1865-66 there were seven non-Scandinavians registered.⁴ However, the fact that the founders of the school had been educated in Sweden, and that the majority of the students were also non-Americans, who attended the Seminary hoping to be ordained as soon as possible, helped to retard the development.⁵ Therefore, during the period at Paxton the percentage of American students was not large.⁶ In spite of the great demand for ministers which encouraged students to enroll for the minimum number of courses, Hasselquist strove to enlarge the faculty and make the school a complete college, thereby raising the standards of the ministry of the Augustana Synod.⁷ He also wished to raise the educational standards of the American Swedes by developing an institution where their sons might receive a college education. It is also possible that he wished to make the college coeducational (suggested by the fact that he does not use the word sons but "flere," meaning more),⁸ and in 1871-72 five girls were attending the college, although they were not officially registered.⁹ Hasselquist tried to overcome the reputation the college had received among some cynics, namely, that it was an institution able to transform "hired

¹ Minnesskrift, 1910, p. 172.

² Augustana College and Seminary Catalogue, 1876-77.

³ The Alumnus, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 28-29.

⁴ Hemlandet, July 3, 1866.

⁵ Minnen från Jubelfesten, 1910, p. 89.

⁶ Augustana College and Seminary Catalogue, 1874-75.

⁷ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1874, p. 19.

⁸ Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1872-73, p. 8.

⁹ Ibid, 1871-72.

men" into ministers in three years.¹ During the last year at Paxton the Augustana College and Theological Seminary was made up of a theological department, a college department of three years, and a preparatory department, the total teaching staff consisting of four professors and two assistants.²

Some claimed that Hasselquist was not a good disciplinarian,³ and that during the last years in Paxton it was very easy for students to secure excuses from classes.⁴ At one time a whole class deserted the teacher; at another, half of the students went on a strike. They became impertinent toward the teachers, and objected to eating what they described as poor food.⁵ But on the other hand, others testified that a severe discipline prevailed, that there existed a good moral spirit, and that all respected Dr. Hasselquist whose gray hair "covered his head with a crown of honor." The days spent in Paxton were said to be "cloisterlike" but not "heavenlike."⁶ The students were aroused at five o'clock in the morning, breakfast was served at seven, and chapel exercises were conducted from seven-thirty to eight. The classes were held in two-hour periods, from 8 A.M. to 10 A.M., from 11 A.M. to 1 P.M. and from 3 P.M. to 5 P.M.⁷ A very pietistic atmosphere controlled the campus life. A student who was serving a congregation during a vacation, had come in contact with a Norwegian Lutheran pastor of the Wisconsin Synod. He wrote to Hasselquist that the Norwegian Synod kept the people in "darkness and blindness," and, "that it is said that the ministers' children are the worst ones...his oldest son is a fiddler...though as yet he plays only at home and for the purpose of entertaining the family."⁸ The students were not permitted to walk "arm in arm" with any girls, for this was considered

¹ Nisbeth, *Två år i Amerika*, p. 74.

² Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1873-74.

³ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 115.

⁴ Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1873-74 and 1874-75.

⁵ Swensson, *Vid Hemmets Hård*, pp. 324-325.

⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 321-325.

⁷ Augustana College and Seminary Catalogue, 1874-1875. Naturally, slight changes took place now and then, as can be seen in the catalogue for 1873-74.

⁸ Swedish Historical Society of America, Year-Book, 1923-24, pp. 24-25.

sinful, and it was almost impossible to receive permission to break an engagement.¹

On the other hand, as in the Middle Ages, the wholesome entertainment of debating was encouraged. A student debating society called the "Phrenokosmiska Sällskapet" was organized early in the history of the school.² Hasselquist encouraged singing among the students. As early as 1867 a student quartet accompanied him on his journeys, and sang before the various congregations that he visited. They also led the singing at the Sunday services in Paxton, and Dr. Hasselquist often sang solos. In 1874, a Silver Cornet Band was organized, Hasselquist himself advancing the money for the purchase of instruments. Some extremely pious students considered the organization very sinful, and when the drummer, some time later, died of typhoid fever, they warned "that God had punished him because he belonged to the band."³

The students undoubtedly lived an isolated life, and associated very little with the Americans of the town. The *Paxton Record*, which at first was so enthusiastic about the institution, soon lost interest. This might be explained by the fact that the *Record* was in favor of secret organizations, and this was a sufficient reason for Hasselquist to sever his connection with the paper.⁴ But, on the whole, the residents of Paxton were far more interested in making their town a railway center,⁵ and did not fear that they would miss the college or its president, if the school were moved.⁶ A change of location therefore seemed inevitable, especially when it was noticed that many of the Swedes who had settled near Paxton were moving away.⁷

The Paxton period must have been discouraging to both Hasselquist and the students. The Paxton Americans ignored the school, and the Swedish congregations failed to

¹ Swensson, op. cit., p. 325.

² Hemlandet, Nov. 24, 1868. C. A. Swensson claims that it was organized in 1860, but Hasselquist gives the date as 1868.

³ Swensson, op. cit., pp. 321-332.

⁴ Paxton Record, March 2, 1865.

⁵ Ibid, Jan. 19, 1871.

⁶ Ibid, July 15, 1875.

⁷ Evangelical Lutheran Church, Paxton, Ill., Church Record.

give it support.¹ In 1868, Hasselquist wrote to Rev. Jonas Swensson, "Our College and Seminary dies of itself, and that within a time not far distant." But he was unwilling to give up, and when he heard that Geneseo and Moline had expressed a desire to have the school, Hasselquist immediately began negotiations. He hoped that Geneseo might be willing to furnish land and buildings and forty thousand dollars.² Captain Eric Johnson of Galva, Illinois, asked that Galva might be considered as a suitable location, but Hasselquist wished to give Geneseo the first chance.³

The question of issuing bonds for forty thousand dollars was therefore voted upon at Geneseo and carried. Thus encouraged, at the Synodical meeting held in Moline in 1869, the proposition was brought up, and recommendations were made to accept the Geneseo offer. But in the meantime, a group of men in Geneseo had begun to work against the plan, and Hasselquist feared that the "money men" in Geneseo might withdraw their support and the entire project would fail.⁴ His fears were justified when the group in opposition brought the matter up again and in a second vote the majority decided not to issue the bonds. Hasselquist at first contemplated securing a "Writ of Mandamus,"⁵ saying that he had not tried to thrust himself upon Geneseo, and "they are going to find out that they cannot play with us."⁶ However, in a short time he dropped the matter and began to consider Moline and Andover as possible sites.⁷ The requirements set by the Augustana Synod were too high, and even after these were reduced to twenty thousand dollars, no town could be found that was willing to contribute this sum plus twenty acres of land. Captain Eric Johnson, the editor of *The Illinois Swedes*, had raised seven or eight thousand dollars, and promised four acres of land, if the Synod located the institution near Galva or Altona.

¹ Hasselquist to H. Olson, Paxton, Ill., Oct. 21, 1868.

² Hasselquist to H. Olson, Paxton, Ill., Oct. 17, 1868.

³ Hasselquist to J. Johnson, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 29, 1868.

⁴ Hasselquist to A. Lindstrom, Paxton, Ill., July 7, 1869.

⁵ Hasselquist to J. T. Pierce, Paxton, Ill., July 17, 1869.

⁶ Hasselquist to N. Anderson, Paxton, Ill., July 17, 1869.

⁷ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 3, 1869.

Chicago was also considered, but Hasselquist believed that "large cities" were "large sins."¹

In the end, the matter was finally settled, not by receiving twenty thousand dollars, but by buying eighteen acres of land in Rock Island. At the Synodical Convention at Paxton, Illinois, in June, 1873, the Board of Directors was authorized to build "a suitable school building" on the picturesque bluff which had cost the Synod ten thousand dollars.² Most of this money was raised by subscriptions in Moline, Andover, and Berlin, Illinois.³ It had become clear to Hasselquist that the Augustana Synod must solve its educational problems alone and that a great deal of financial help could not be expected from the "Americans" in Moline and Rock Island.⁴

The laying of the corner stone of the building in Rock Island marks a new period in the history of the Augustana College and Theological Seminary. It marks, also, the realization of Hasselquist's dreams, the beginning of an institution not only for the training of pastors but for the general public—in particular, to give the Swedish-Americans an opportunity to secure a college education. It also marks a successful attempt to raise the educational requirements for the ministry.⁵ In connection with the plans for moving the school from Paxton to Rock Island, Hasselquist made the Synod understand that a campaign for money must be conducted; that a Land Fund, a Building Fund, and an Endowment Fund must be secured. The panic of 1873 checked what at first seemed a great success in the gathering of the money, and at the end of the first year, only \$6,761 had been collected for the Land Fund, \$3,500 for the Building Fund, and \$6,000 for the Endowment Fund. Because of the hard times, the property at Paxton could not be disposed of,⁶ and this check in the plans left Hassel-

¹ Hemlandet, July 5, 1870; Augustana och Missionären, June 6, 1883.

² Augustana College and Seminary Catalogue, 1876-77.

³ Hasselquist to W. A. Passavant, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 8, 1873.

⁴ Hasselquist to G. Peters, Paxton, Ill., April 9, 1873.

⁵ Hemlandet, Nov. 4, 1873.

⁶ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1874, pp. 15-16.

quist with only one hope: "But the Lord with us, then all obstacles must be overcome."¹

The panic of 1873 had, moreover, prevented the immediate removal of the college from Paxton to Rock Island, and it was not until September 22, 1875, that the first session was begun at the new location. Dr. Hasselquist was then sixty years of age. He showed the effects of the hard work at Paxton, but fortunately, he was still a strong and powerful man, who began his new duties at Rock Island with enthusiasm. These were to be happier years, the staff was increased, thereby reducing the teaching schedule of the president,² and the congregations began to show a greater interest in the college and seminary.³ But there were still difficulties to be met. The larger percentage of the Swedish population in the United States was agricultural, and it was not easy to convince farmers of the necessity of educating their children beyond the reading and writing stage. Many argued that education was detrimental, and that their children would become lazy and consider themselves too good for farm work. The Swedish-American youth did not always desire an education, declaring that they did not need to go to college to learn to plow. As for the girls, if they could cook, sew, sing in a choir, and play "Gubben Noak" (a simple piece played with one finger), they were considered accomplished by their neighbors.⁴

Hasselquist advocated coeducation,⁵ but though a few ladies attended the college during the years 1871 to 1885, it was not until 1885-86 that the first women students were properly matriculated,⁶ and then they were all enrolled in the preparatory department. In spite of the efforts of the president to attract Swedish girls,⁷ it was not until the Conservatory department was added that the number of

¹ Hasselquist to A. Andreen, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 19, 1873.

² Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogues, 1882-84.

³ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 239-247.

⁴ Swensson, Vid Hemmets Hård, pp. 257-260; 306-307.

⁵ Augustana och Missionären, April 26, 1882.

⁶ Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogues, 1871-1886.

⁷ Skaffaren, Aug. 25, 1886.

women students became encouraging.¹ This department was established in January, 1886. It was organized in the hope that it would develop into one of the best conservatories in the country, and, even when first begun, it was expected to supply the churches within the Synod with competent organists.² In order to make the institution still more practical, a Commercial department was added in October, 1888.³ That year the enrollment of women students was so large that it was considered necessary to buy a girls' dormitory, and Mrs. C. W. Foss was appointed the first principal of the Ladies' Hall.⁴

As time went on, a greater appreciation was shown toward the College, but there were still many obstacles to be overcome. In 1873, plans were made to construct four buildings—two for the professors, and two for classrooms and students' rooms. This plan was changed, and it was decided that the expense would be less if one larger building were erected instead of four smaller ones. Those who were sent out to gather funds for the school met with splendid success, nearly five thousand dollars being contributed by Americans.⁵ In Kansas, subscriptions amounting to nine thousand dollars had been collected before the end of the year 1875.⁶ The new building cost fifty-three thousand dollars, and this large sum meant that help must come from all possible sources. Very little support was given by the Minnesota Conference which had launched into a more costly educational adventure than the Academy at Carver, namely, the founding of Gustavus Adolphus College. But the financial difficulties were overcome from two sources. The Swedish Lutheran Publication Society, then owned and controlled by the College and the Seminary, had sold *Hemlandet* in 1872 for ten thousand dollars, to be paid in twenty equal installments, and in 1874 the Board of Di-

¹ Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1887-1888.

² Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1885-1886.

³ Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1888-1889, p. 19.

⁴ The Alumnus, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 84.

⁵ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1875, pp. 33-34.

⁶ Augustana, No. 22, 1875.

rectors of the College and Seminary sold the Book Store for seventeen thousand dollars. This sum was paid in semi-annual installments of five hundred dollars for the first five years and six hundred dollars semiannually for the next ten years. The twenty-seven thousand dollars thus received were used to meet the general expenses of the school. Thus Hasselquist's two former projects became important factors in aiding his last cherished venture.¹ The Synod also passed a resolution promising more faithful support to the institution, and, in 1873, decided that each communicant member was to be assessed twenty-five cents annually, and the sum realized was to pay the salaries of the teachers and assist needy students.² Hasselquist not only received the hearty support of the Synod in the attempt to raise the needed fifty-three thousand dollars, but was also permitted to enlarge the faculty.³ Calls were extended to Rev. O. Olsson of Kansas and Prof. U. L. Ullman of Sweden, but both declined, and when Rev. F. Lagerman resigned as a teacher in 1875, a decrease in the faculty staff appeared to be the only result of Hasselquist's attempt to increase it.⁴ This was only a temporary setback, and happier news was received when Prof. P. A. Melin of Sweden and Rev. W. F. Eyster from Nebraska accepted calls to teach at Augustana.⁵

As the enrollment increased, another building was also needed, but the president realized that the Synod could not be pressed for this amount so soon after the erection of the first building. He sought in vain to secure a loan from Sweden of thirty or forty thousand dollars.⁶ The Swedes in America were also very critical; some claimed that the college was too religious, others lamented the fact that the candidates for the ministry were compelled to mix with the worldly college students.⁷ This criticism was a drawback in collecting funds. However, enough support had been

¹ The Alumnus, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 51-52.

² Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1874, p. 74.

³ Augustana, 1875, No. 13.

⁴ Ibid, 1875, No. 16.

⁵ Ibid, 1875, No. 19.

⁶ Hasselquist to E. N. Jorlander, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 20, 1874.

⁷ Augustana och Missionären, Nov. 23, 1881.

secured so that part of the eighteen and three-fourths acres purchased for the campus could be retained, although it had been suggested that part of this be disposed of in lots in order to secure needed funds.¹

The disposal of the land at Paxton became an important factor in overcoming financial difficulties.² Other sources of income were the earnings of the Synod's paper, *Augustana och Missionären*, and Prof. O. Olsson's skillful editing of *Skolvännen* influenced many to rally to the support of the institution.³ Between May, 1878, and the end of the year, \$16,790 was secured through the efforts of the *Skolvännen*. This was a very important resource, as less than half of the twenty-five cent fee had been collected.⁴ By 1881 the debt of \$28,000 had been paid.⁵ During the decade of the eighties the only assets of the institution were the twenty-five cent fee per communicant member of the Synod, tuition, board and room rent, rent on the property in Paxton, payments for *Hemlandet* up to 1883, and for the Book Store up to 1889.⁶ Other small incomes were profits of *Augustana och Missionären* and the sale of catechisms.⁷ None the less, in time, the ambitions of Hasselquist were shared by others, and when the finances of the school had improved in the eighties, the Synod, at its convention at Red Wing, Minnesota, in 1883, decided to erect a new and larger building. Rev. O. Olsson again offered his services in *Skolvännen*.⁸ The Synod had realized that it was a question of either progress or the return to a lower educational standard, and in spite of difficulties it was decided to undertake improvements.⁹ The completion of this building program of 1883 was retarded by the inability to collect sufficient funds, and only the liberal gift of \$25,000 from Mr. P. L. Cable of Rock Island saved the situation.¹⁰

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1877, p. 25.

² Ibid, 1878, p. 30-32.

³ The Alumnus, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 53.

⁴ Hemlandet, May 7, 1879.

⁵ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1880, pp. 40-41.

⁶ The Alumnus, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 85-86.

⁷ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1880-1881.

⁸ Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1883-1884.

⁹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1884, pp. 27-28.

¹⁰ Augustana och Missionären, June 17, 1885.

The building could now have been rapidly completed, but in 1885, the Synod decided to substitute stone for brick as a building material, thereby increasing the cost about thirty thousand dollars. It was not until June 12, 1889, that the dedication could take place.¹ In addition to the two large buildings, a resident for a professor had been constructed in 1878, another in 1879, a third in 1881, and a "double residence built of brick," in which there were a classroom and a Seminary Library in the basement, in 1883. "Jubilee Hall," erected for the "Lutheran Quadricentennial of 1883," was a temporary frame building having a seating capacity of three thousand and was for some time used by the students as a gymnasium.²

Two important problems had been solved: proper buildings and a sufficient income had been secured, but a third problem of perhaps equal importance had to be faced. The educational standards of the institution had to be raised. The Charter, as amended in 1869 by the Illinois State Legislature, authorized the awarding of the degrees of Doctor of Divinity, Master of Arts, Bachelor of Arts and other literary and scientific degrees.³ This did not necessarily signify that Augustana College and Theological Seminary had been recognized as an institution of high educational standards. The faculty had to be improved as well as enlarged, a better library was necessary, and a sufficient number of college courses must be offered. The faculty for the school year 1876-77 consisted of seven professors and three assistants.⁴ In 1885 there were nineteen members,⁵ and in 1889 there were twenty-three.⁶ The library was increased to thirteen thousand volumes.⁷ This increase had its effect upon the curriculum, although it did not necessarily mean an improvement, for many were "called" directly from "the plow" to preach the Word of God, and this made the educational problem more serious.⁸

¹ The *Alumnus*, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 84-85.

² Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1883-84.

³ *Ibid*, 1876-77.

⁴ *Ibid*, 1876-77.

⁵ *Ibid*, 1884-85.

⁶ *Ibid*, 1888-89.

⁷ *Ibid*, 1889-90, p. 46.

⁸ C. A. Johnson to T. N. Hasselquist, Aurelia, Iowa, July 7, 1882.

However, Hasselquist's efforts to raise the educational requirements were not without success. In 1885 the Seminary offered only a two-year course, but in 1889 this was extended to three years.¹ The growth of the College Department had been very slow and it was not until 1877 that the first class was graduated.² The following year there was no graduating class, but since 1879 students have been graduated every year.³ In 1879 Sweden granted Augustana alumni permission to do advanced work at the Universities of Uppsala and Lund.⁴ The Seminary had left its stamp upon the curriculum of the college in the stressing of classical subjects and it was not until 1880 that a scientific course for a Bachelor's degree was added.⁵ But even then Mathematics and the Natural Sciences were given very little attention. Both Swedish and English were used in the classroom.⁶ Gradually the entrance requirements were raised, a student entering college being obliged to have finished a full high school or preparatory course, and the Seminary was open only to those who held a Bachelor's degree. (Exceptions, however, were made.)

Developments had been more after the manner of European than American colleges. The methods of instruction were similar to those employed in the Swedish and German *Gymnasia*. The number of hours carried by the students were more than was customary in the American colleges, but less than the requirements in Europe. In the study of the languages, grammar was emphasized.⁷ The development of the college had been slow, and the first recognition it won in America as a worthy undergraduate school came when Yale University recognized the diplomas from Augustana College.⁸ Thus encouraged, before Hasselquist's death, steps were taken to create a Graduate School. Provisions

¹ Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1889-90.

² Ibid, 1876-77.

³ The Alumnus, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 52-53.

⁴ Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1883-84.

⁵ The Alumnus, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 79.

⁶ Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1884-85, p. 24.

⁷ Ibid, 1884-85, pp. 26-27.

⁸ C. A. Swenson, Address at the Dedication of the New College Building of Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill., June 12, 1889 (Topeka, Kans., 1889).

were made for a course leading to the degree of Master of Arts,¹ and in 1890-91 there were six candidates for the degree.²

With the increasing number of students, campus life became more pleasant and interesting. Various societies were organized in addition to the old Phrenokosmian Society, namely, the Adelphic, Concordia, and the Foreign Missionary Society. The Augustana Cornet Band continued to exist. An Aeolus Choir was organized in 1884 for the purpose of singing only "classical sacred and secular music," and an Oratorio Society was formed which aimed "at culture in the highest style of classical sacred music and seeks at the same time to prevent the practice and influence of worthless and injurious music among the young people of the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod."³ These societies were all encouraged by Hasselquist, but it was Rev. O. Olsson who organized the Oratorio Society, which yearly rendered Handel's "Messiah."⁴ As has been emphasized, the institution was essentially pietistic, and its aims were to create an obedience to God and develop "piety and habits of order and politeness" among the students.⁵ The students were not to act under a compulsion or force, but from "a high sense of duty" and desire to "obey the Gospel of Christ." Corporal punishment was not used, but a student could be dismissed for major offenses.⁶ "All visiting of saloons, billiard rooms, or similar places, and all kinds of gambling, all secret societies among the students as well as active membership in secret societies in general" were forbidden.⁷ Dr. J. Blanchard, president of Knox College, said that on a visit to Rock Island in 1885, he could neither see nor smell any tobacco among the students.⁸ The old system of Paxton of giving aid to those who wished to

¹ Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1888-89, p. 43.

² Ibid, 1890-91, p. 10.

³ Ibid, 1883-84, pp. 48-50.

⁴ Augustana och Missionären, Feb. 7, 1881; June 22, 1881.

⁵ Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogue, 1883-84, p. 39.

⁶ Ibid, 1876-77.

⁷ Ibid, 1884-85, pp. 28-29.

⁸ Augustana och Missionären, June 10, 1885.

become ministers or parochial teachers was retained, though modified in many respects.¹

When the man who was principally responsible for the very existence of the institution passed away, the future not only of Augustana College and Theological Seminary was assured, but also the future of the whole Augustana Synod. At the time of his death, the school had an enrollment of three hundred students. The years spent in Rock Island had been happy; he had been able to see the progress and some of the fruits of his labor. His conservatism during his last years might not always have brought the best results. But those who were dissatisfied always had to face the question: Who could take his place? A small group who believed that Hasselquist should be deposed attempted a *coup d-etat* in 1889 when the Synod met in Rock Island. The absence of the president at one of the meetings led this group to propose a resolution that Hasselquist should retire, but just as they were arguing the matter, the aged gentleman entered. As he had heard the discussions, he walked up to the platform, turned to the audience and said, "I will not resign. You have no one to fill the place. Who can do better than I? I have done nothing for which to resign, and I will stay until I move to a place a little east of Moline." (Cemetery east of Moline.)² The attempt to depose him failed and Dr. Hasselquist was permitted to give his last days to the institution he had nursed and cherished.

¹ A complete table of the students who received board and room free of any charge can be found in the catalogue for 1884-85, p. 52.

² Interview with Dr. C. W. Foss, Nov. 22, 1929.

CHAPTER V

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD, 1860-1870

In 1860 when a small number of Scandinavians separated from the Northern Illinois Synod to sail the sometimes peaceful, but more often turbulent waters of experience, T. N. Hasselquist, the captain, whose duty it was to guide the Synodical ship safely, expressed hopes for a bright future for the newly organized Augustana Synod.¹ It was said in later years that the Synod might not have had a Walther, but it did have a Hasselquist who regarded his position as a clergyman as "the highest and noblest calling on earth."² His work as an educator or as a journalist would entitle him to some place in the social history of the United States, yet, as the founder of the Augustana Synod, his importance must after all have been the greatest because of the part this church organization has played in preserving the religion and culture of Sweden in America.

The mission of the Augustana Synod became, "to follow the dispersed countrymen in America, who have come here to find earthly homes, with God's pure Word and Sacraments, and to gather and retain them in regular Evangelical Lutheran congregations." As the Swedes were nearly all Lutherans when they settled in America, they often stood aloof from any religious organization if they did not join the Lutheran Church. This increased the importance of the Augustana Synod.³ To provide these religious facilities was not an easy task. The thousands of Swedes who arrived in the United States scattered in all directions, on the prairies of the western states, in the forests, and in the cities, and with this and other handicaps, the Synod began its history.⁴

The separation from the Northern Illinois Synod had been partly due to doctrinal controversies. It was now free

¹ *Tidskrift*, 1899, p. 152.

² *Ibid*, 1910, pp. 6-7.

³ Nothstein, *My Church*, Vol. II, pp. 11-12.

⁴ *Hemlandet*, Nov. 18, 1869.

to declare its own interpretation of Lutheran doctrines, and summed them up in the statement: "As a Christian body in general, and as Evangelical Lutheran particularly, this Synod acknowledges, that the Holy Scriptures, the revealed Word of God, are the only sufficient and infallible rule and standard of faith and practice, and also retains and confesses not only the ancient symbols (the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian), but also the unaltered Augsburg Confession, as a short and correct summary of the principal Christian doctrines understood as developed and explained in the other symbolical books."¹ The Synod was strictly pietistic and Lutheran, but Jeffersonian in democracy and simplicity. There were no bishops, only preachers and laymen, and the power of the congregations was superior to that of the Synod. This made a central government difficult.² However, this central government, the Synod, was not only a legislative body, but the Supreme Court of the congregations as well. It was composed of the pastors and laymen, chosen as representatives of the congregations.³

In the evolution of this organization it was Hasselquist's mission to establish firmly and protect the very limited original powers of the Synod, to strengthen its authority, preserve its unity, and guide its expansion; and because of this work, the history of the Augustana Synod during its first decade is, in reality, the history of its leader. Like a general he led his forces, directed them in an aggressive spirit, fearing nothing. "Strife we have," he wrote to Rev. P. A. Cederstam, "and strife we will have, but what can be done? Is it not so in this world? May the Lord supply war material and lead the battle that His cause through us might not suffer a loss! With us may it go as it will."⁴ He considered it a God-given privilege "to send out living voices to seek the lost," as well as a duty to care for his countrymen.⁵ There were many who, with reason, consid-

¹ The Missinary, July 19, 1860.

² Peterson, *Sverige i Amerika*, p. 69.

³ Norelius, *Ev. Luth. Augustana Synoden i Nord Amerika*, p. 40.

⁴ Hasselquist to P. A. Cederstam, Paxton, Ill., April 3, 1869.

⁵ Augustana Synod, 1860-1910, p. 73.

ered him an autocrat, but he had an understanding of the difficulties and hardships of others and he was willing to share their worries and troubles.¹ By many he was loved and respected, and as Norelius wrote, "Who would feel like opposing him? None."² He was willing to listen to advice, and said that he felt himself indebted to Dr. A. W. Passavant for sound advice in matters concerning the welfare of the Synod.³ However, he was most often compelled to solve his problems alone, and even the importance of Rev. Erland Carlsson as his advisor may be easily exaggerated, although both were looked upon as pillars of the Augustana Synod.⁴ They were the kind of friends who did not falsely hide their feelings toward one another, but often severely criticized each other. It was Hasselquist's idea that they were to fight together and to keep nothing secret as long as as they had to bear the heaviest part of the work.⁵

So far as the correspondence between these two men presents the negotiations, it is clear that it was Hasselquist who made the decisions, but he was unwilling to take all of the responsibility and therefore sought Carlsson's support.⁶ The latter was often negligent in answering the many letters from Hasselquist,⁷ thereby inducing the president to lose some of the confidence he had in the Chicago pastor. He would try to persuade Carlsson to perform certain duties, and when Carlsson failed, as was often the case, Hasselquist, in spite of his far heavier work as pastor, teacher, president of the Augustana College and Seminary and president of the Synod, was compelled to turn his attention to the task himself.⁸ His duties not only concerned the administration of the Synod and its expansion, but involved participation in theological debates, combating proselyting activities of the other denominations, and in

¹ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 15, 1865; April 15, 1865;; Oct. 2, 1865.

² Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 74.

³ Hasselquist to W. A. Passavant, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 19, 1870.

⁴ Swensson, *Vid Hemmets Hård*, pp. 343-344.

⁵ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Oct. 19, 1865.

⁶ Hasselquist, *Correspondence*, Vol. I, Paxton, Ill., Oct. 10, 1865.

⁷ Hasselquist to A. R. Cervin, Paxton, Ill., Oct. 18, 1866.

⁸ Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., April 6, 1867.

his writings defending *Hemlandet* from the attacks of competitors. Hasselquist, who once had been known for his liberalism, showed extreme intolerance (perhaps more than he wished) in the heated newspaper war with *Frihetsvännen*, *Sändebudet* and *Svenska Amerikanaren*.¹ From five o'clock in the morning until ten o'clock in the evening, he wrote, he was engaged in the interests of the Synod,² and during the whole period of his presidency he stood in a more direct communication with the congregations than it has been possible for his successors to do.³

Hasselquist was a man of action, who had traveled extensively and organized congregations in the fifties and who had founded the papers *Hemlandet* and *Rätta Hemlandet*. In the early pioneer period he had contributed much to the preservation of the unity of the church, and now there were new duties as president of the Augustana Synod. According to the Constitution, he filled all the requirements demanded of the president. He was a "true Lutheran in faith," he had "piety," "age," "knowledge," and "good judgment."⁴ Unquestionably he was a poor parliamentarian, "one of the worst" the Synod ever had, for when the actions of the Synod did not please him, he would take a second vote and cut all discussions short. He did not care, he explained, in what manner good decisions were reached, provided they were reached.⁵ This was a pronounced characteristic of the man. Action was wanted, no time was to be wasted, and it was in this same manner he set out to accomplish his many duties. He was not only chairman at the synodical conventions, but he preached the "synodical sermon" and together with the pastor of the local congregation where the Synod met, he arranged the program for the meeting. At this meeting President Hasselquist gave a report on the progress and development of the Synod, made the necessary recommendations, appointed committees, led and advised the members of the Synod in respect

¹ *Hemlandet*, Sept. 17, 1867.

² Hasselquist to J. F. Duwell, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 17, 1866.

³ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 144.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1860, p. 19.

⁵ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 74.

to clerical duties and admonished them to faithfulness and a holy life. The president was authorized to call special conventions when necessary. (This could be done only with the consent of five ordained ministers, or with the consent of two congregations.) It was his duty to visit the congregations, to advise them with respect to good church order, to keep the official records, to care for the poor within the Synod, and to concern himself with the education of the youth, and with the distribution of good and doctrinally sound literature.¹ It may have been the great confidence which the members of the Synod had in Hasselquist which caused them to delegate to him nearly all the work. In any case he was appointed to serve on numerous committees and "boards," and it was only due to his great physical strength that he was able to bear the burdens of this formative period.²

In 1860 Hasselquist set out to accomplish a seemingly impossible task—to visit the congregations of the newly formed Augustana Synod. He spent five weeks in Iowa and Minnesota among his countrymen, traveling five hundred and forty-eight miles on land, and thirty miles on a small steamboat, and preaching sixty times. It was not a journey of ease, but one of "hard work" and "yet one of pleasure."³ In *Hemlandet* he related his experiences in an entertaining and instructive manner, describing the soil, and giving his idea as to the future of the various settlements. He was also present at the meeting of the Minnesota Conference, and acted as chairman of the gathering.⁴ During the "synodical year 1860–61, visits were paid to twenty-four congregations, during which over one hundred sermons were preached. Whenever there was an opportunity, an examination was given to the children in the parochial schools. The visits greatly stimulated the work in the local congregations, and Hasselquist regarded this phase of his presidential duties as among the most important.⁵

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1860, p. 19.

² Norelius, op. cit., p. 89.

³ The Missionary, Dec. 9, 1860.

⁴ Hemlandet, Nov. 7, 1860.

⁵ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1861, pp. 4–7.

During the year 1861-62 Hasselquist cared for two large congregations and he was accordingly able to visit only thirteen congregations, and make a trip to New York to investigate the prospects for a church in that city.¹ During the following year he visited "as many as possible." Official correspondence became larger and larger as more congregations were organized. This took a great deal of time.² By accepting the position left vacant by Rev. L. P. Esbjorn, Hasselquist had hoped that his duties would not be so great, but he found that the contrary was true, that his time was so entirely taken up that it was impossible to visit many congregations. Even on the few journeys which he did take, the Synod was often unable to pay his expenses, and he was forced to expend much of his own means for this purpose.³ In order to relieve the president of some of his duties, the Synod recommended that substitutes be appointed to visit the congregations.⁴ But it was soon discovered that the substitutes collected pay for all their expenses,⁵ and in fact helped matters very little. In spite of this assistance, the president complained that he "did not have a day's or even a Sabbath Day's rest,"⁶ for whenever something out of the routine arose, all immediately came to him for advice and help,⁷ building projects of the congregations being especially troublesome.⁸ He often had to travel day and night, as requests for his presence came from various places.⁹

The Synod, again, tried to relieve the president of some of this work, and appointed a council to advise and assist, when he felt the need of help.¹⁰ But so large a percentage of the ministers lacked proper education, and could hardly act or speak without advice, that this council could not be

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1862, p. 6.

² Ibid, 1863, p. 5.

³ Ibid, 1864, p. 5.

⁴ Ibid, p. 25.

⁵ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 21, 1865.

⁶ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 5, 1874.

⁷ Hasselquist to J. Johanson, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 9, 1865.

⁸ Hasselquist to A. W. Dahlsten, Paxton, Ill., April 6, 1864.

⁹ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 29, 1864.

¹⁰ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1865, p. 18.

a great help.¹ The requests from the pastors were continually coming in, some asking to be recommended to another pulpit, and others even seeking assistance in the outlining of sermons.² In spite of all this, Hasselquist did not lack a sense of humor. He continued to write fatherly letters of advice, cautioning one of them: "Dear Brother, you have much to learn from me, especially how one should not be."³ His care and sympathy toward the more capable of the pastors shows him, in contrast to the reputation he had attained, as a man of tender feelings who tried to lighten their burdens, fearing that they might break down under the strain of too strenuous work.⁴ Hasselquist was finally compelled to give up visiting most of the congregations, even though he considered it so important.⁵ When it had tried unsuccessfully to find efficient help for Hasselquist, the Synod felt all there remained for it to do was "to hope and pray to the Lord," that He would preserve and support the strength of their president.⁶

Correspondence increased every year. From the first of August to the twenty-seventh of that month in 1867, Hasselquist wrote fifty-six letters, many of which were very long. This number was not unusual.⁷ The number of pastors in the Synod increased, and Hasselquist considered it his duty as teacher of Theology and president of the Synod to guide and warn them even after ordination.⁸ Perhaps due to the fact that personal visitations had become almost impossible, the Synod in 1867 decided that every pastor should annually return a written report on the condition of his church, and it was on these reports that the president was to base his annual summary.⁹

This first decade was a period of experimentation, a pioneer period, marked by lack of order and rules, years during

¹ Hasselquist to C. A. Hedengran, Paxton, Ill., April 13, 1865.

² Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 25, 1866.

³ Hasselquist to Rev. Estrem, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 4, 1865.

⁴ Hasselquist to A. Andren, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 20, 1864.

⁵ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1870, p. 6.

⁶ Ibid, 1866, p. 36.

⁷ Hasselquist to A. Jackson, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 27, 1867.

⁸ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 126.

⁹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1868, p. 5.

which problems increased as quickly as the growth of the Synod. The conventions were like mass meetings. Anyone might propose a measure and begin a discussion whether the subject of the argument was understood or not. "Standing committees" were chosen to help solve the problem, but as the members of this committee seldom had time and opportunity to meet and discuss the subjects which were to be brought before the Synod, little was accomplished in this way. "Temporary committees" were then appointed, but these failed even more dismally than the "standing committee." Hasselquist tried to remedy the situation by selecting a committee of two, which was later increased to four, to serve as special aids to the president. But this was no more of a solution than the former expedients. In 1869, when the constitution was revised, Rev. E. Norelius proposed a new plan, to which Hasselquist gave his support. A council was to meet before each synodical convention to determine the matters of business that were to be brought up before the Synod, a procedure which seems to have proved satisfactory.¹

Many other factors contributed to the difficulties and almost brought chaos. The need for ministers compelled the Synod to ordain men who could be said to have no special talents for the work but their "piety."² The Swedish and the Norwegian congregations were scattered over a large territory.³ Many of the emigrants disliked a definite church form; in Sweden, sacrifice and work had not been part of church life, all responsibilities being carried by the State.⁴ Many were ignorant of the doctrinal differences distinguishing the various denominations, and a correspondent wrote to *Maanedstidende*: "Some, alas, have united with the Episcopalians, supposing that they were English Lutherans, which was affirmed in more than one place; others in their spiritual destitution have received bread and wine from the Methodists, acknowledging, however, that

¹ Augustana, December, 1868.

² Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 131.

³ Svenskarna i Amerika, Vol. I, p. 244.

⁴ Korsbaneret, 1910, p. 42.

this was wrong, and heartily thanking me for my visit.”¹ In some congregations disputes arose between the pastor and the members, difficulties which Hasselquist tried to settle in the interests of the Synod.² He urged that drastic measures, such as excommunication, should be used only as a last resort for the best interests of the person or persons as well as for the welfare of the congregation and in view of “protecting the honor of the congregation.”³ A careful selection of deacons and the maintenance of law and order were urged.⁴ This constant advice and supervision gradually improved the general church order among the congregations, better order being noticeable among the Swedes than the Norwegians of the Synod, and better order among the latter than among the Norwegians of the Wisconsin Synod.⁵

When some ministers pondered too deeply upon the mysteries of Christianity until their views became distinctly radical, Hasselquist tried to use diplomacy and sympathy, not ridiculing their sincerity, even if others proclaimed them heretics, but endeavoring to show them their errors. To one pastor who had become contaminated with “Chiliasm,” Hasselquist wrote that his ideas were not so foolish, and urged the pastor to attend the synodical convention, for it would do him “good,” and he need have no fear respecting possible attacks by the other pastors. Individual discussions would please him, Hasselquist continued, but official discussions of theological questions were dangerous and the Synod should avoid them. “Your Chiliasm, I fight, but yourself I will defend as one whom I love.”⁶ The ministers often misunderstood one another, but Hasselquist would immediately demand a settlement of the dispute, and if he failed in this, he would appoint a committee to bring an end to the difficulties.⁷ It was his steadfast rule, he

¹ Lutheran Observer, June 3, 1870. This was as true of the Swedes as it was of the Norwegians.

² Hasselquist to Rev. P. Asbjornsen, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 12, 1864.

³ Hemlandet, Vol. X, No. 51.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Hasselquist to Rev. O. Sheldahl, Paxton, Ill., July 27, 1865.

⁶ Hasselquist to C. A. Hedengran, Paxton, Ill., May 29, 1865.

⁷ Hasselquist to A. Johnson, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 20, 1864.

declared, that the welfare of the congregations should determine his policy in almost every respect.¹ His piety did not prevent him from being very severe toward pastors who neglected their congregations or who by moving too often, injured the best interests of all congregations concerned.² Everything that might injure the Synod was avoided; rumors of unpleasant acts committed by ministers were silenced or, if necessary, summary action was taken, and the pastor was compelled to leave the ministry without prolonged discussions.³ In order that possible trouble might be avoided, Hasselquist tried to place the younger inexperienced men near some older pastors whose sage advice they might need.⁴ As a former editor, he fully realized the power of the press and tried to prevent faults from becoming known to his opponents.⁵ It was, therefore, through the efforts of the president that the powers of the Synod were strengthened, the constitution itself granting it little.⁶

Naturally, there were some obstacles and difficulties which Hasselquist could not overcome, but he laid the foundations of the Synod so firmly that it was able to weather the storms of the late sixties, and during his "reign" a sound growth was noticeable. He inaugurated the policy of expansion, heading personally the committee on Home Missions, a phase of the work which remained the most important as long as extensive immigration continued.⁷ Early worries were compensated for by the fact that the first year of the Synod was an enjoyable one. Hasselquist had been welcomed everywhere on his visits and six churches had been built. Enthusiasm was evident when small congregations of only forty members erected churches costing from seven to eight hundred dollars and completed them without any serious indebtedness. E. Norelius had been sent to Minnesota as an itinerant missionary, and it was only the lack of funds that handicapped the Synod in its mission work,

¹ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 12, 1869.

² Hasselquist to S. G. Larson, Paxton, Ill., June 8, 1868.

³ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 25, 1867.

⁴ Hasselquist to T. Lundblad, Paxton, Ill., March 7, 1867.

⁵ Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., May 6, 1869.

⁶ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 28, 1865.

⁷ Augustana Synod, 1860-1910, pp. 6-7.

only \$325.13 being collected during the year 1860-61 for this purpose.¹

But the progress of the organization was not to pass undisturbed by outside forces. The Swedes and Norwegians soon saw their adopted land torn by a conflict that involved the preservation of the Union. A surprisingly large number of Scandinavians rallied under the banner of the Federal Army. It is estimated that three or four thousand Swedes fought as Union soldiers during the Civil War, a number equivalent to about one-sixth of the entire Swedish population in the United States.² Hasselquist claims that the effect of the Civil War on the growth of the Synod was slight, although during 1861-62 no churches were dedicated. The greatest barrier to the expansion of the Synod was the lack of trained ministers, and students were sometimes given a license to preach.³ In 1862 the Minnesota Conference complained that so great a number of its young men had joined the Union Army that the effective membership was greatly decreased. Indians raided the western frontier of Minnesota, dealing crippling blows to the Scandinavian congregations in that vicinity.⁴

But in spite of "storm and the bloody garment of the country" the Synod progressed. Congregations were more eager than ever to have a pastor, and a general growth in membership was noticed. There was an improvement in local conditions: the salaries of ministers were raised and some congregations purchased organs to aid in making the services more attractive. A firm stand in Confession was emphasized, and the future looked bright in every respect, as Hasselquist hoped to be able to supply the so-much-needed pastors through the proposed Seminary supported by his colonization scheme.⁵ A similar growth is recorded in the report for the following year, 1863-64, and Hasselquist, in order that this expansion of the Synod might continue, redoubled his efforts to secure candidates for the

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1861, pp. 5-6, 18.

² Svenskarna i Amerika, Vol. I, p. 185.

³ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1862, pp. 5-6.

⁴ Tidskrift, 1899, p. 171.

⁵ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1863, pp. 4-5.

Seminary both in America and through the influence of friends in Sweden.¹

The close of the Civil War brightened the prospects for the future. Congregations increased in size and number, and an expansion of the mission work was outlined from New York City to Kansas.² The former was undoubtedly the most important field for the Synod's work, as it offered an opportunity to direct the immigrants upon their arrival to Swedish settlements within the Synod. The need of a missionary at this post had been emphasized in the Swedish newspapers, and the "Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen" began to collect funds for that purpose, though little had been received in America.³ In 1866, the work was actually inaugurated, and Hasselquist's dreams were slowly being realized.⁴ But in the interior the growth of the congregations increased more rapidly than ministers were being ordained. In 1866, Hasselquist complained, "We have ten places that demand pastors and only one to fill the demand."⁵ Each pastor was obliged to take charge of as many congregations as he possibly could keep in touch with, and therefore the congregational work was not always done satisfactorily.⁶ Trouble also appeared in New York, and Hasselquist's joy over the accomplishments there was short-lived, as Rev. K. Karlen, who had come to America in 1867, prevailed upon the congregation to withdraw from the Synod.⁷ However, all connections with New York were not lost, as Rev. A. Waetter, who was pastor of the Gustavus Adolphus congregation, remained friendly to the Augustana Synod.⁸

In 1867 nine men were ordained, but the congregations increased with the rapid influx of immigrants, and the need of ministers was still great.⁹ Hasselquist kept up his plea for the cause of missions, appealing especially for the more

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1864, pp. 5-6; Hemlandet, Aug. 23, 1865.

² Ibid., 1865, pp. 10-11.

³ Ibid., 1864, pp. 8-9.

⁴ Ibid., 1866, p. 36.

⁵ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., April 16, 1866.

⁶ P. A. Cederstam to Hasselquist, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 30, 1867.

⁷ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1868, pp. 8-9.

⁸ Ibid., 1870, p. 19. Later the congregation rejoined the Synod.

⁹ Ibid., 1867, p. 6.

isolated group of Swedes in the industrial sections of the East.¹ Throughout the period of his presidency he also followed a consistent policy in urging that the ministers should not serve only one congregation, nor only two or three, but it was their duty to travel through neighboring Scandinavian settlements and try to organize other congregations.² In spite of the great difficulties, the Augustana Synod had witnessed an unusual growth, and when the first decade was over, it was organized into six conferences: the New York Conference including all the eastern states, the Illinois Conference including Illinois, Indiana, Michigan and the southern part of Wisconsin, the Minnesota Conference which was made up of congregations in Minnesota, Dakota, and the northwestern part of Wisconsin, the Kansas Conference including Kansas, Nebraska, and Missouri. This is the more remarkable when it is considered that the Synod was spending only \$1,514.74 a year for Home Missions as late as 1870.³ The general expenses of the Synod had increased from \$7,050 in 1860 to \$63,000 in 1870,⁴ while the general expenses of the congregations had risen from \$5,599.33 to \$124,707, and the increase in the number of pastors was from seventeen to forty-five. The communicant membership, which was 3,748 in 1860, totalled 16,376 in 1870.⁵ At the end of the decade there were ninety-nine congregations, sixty-six Sunday schools, and thirty-seven parochial schools.⁶ A large part of this growth can be explained as a natural result of the increase in Swedish immigration in the sixties,⁷ but Hasselquist had done much to guide this immigration into the Augustana fold, and he did not, perhaps, feel as elated over the growth of the church membership as the numbers quoted might suggest, for in 1870 less than one-fifth of the Swedes in America were members of the Augustana Synod.⁸

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1870, p. 19.

² Hasselquist to P. Sjöblom, Paxton, Ill., April 10, 1869.

³ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1870.

⁴ Rättä Hemlandet och Augustana, September, 1870.

⁵ C. A. Swensson, I Sverige, p. 500.

⁶ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1870.

⁷ The Lutheran Observer, Feb. 25, 1870.

⁸ Norelius, Ev. Luth. Augustana Synoden i Nord-Amerika, pp. 43-44.

It was in the internal, or constitutional development of the Synod that the influence and personality of Hasselquist was most felt. The authority of that body had been increased, though it had been considered unwise to stress it over and above the firm opposition of any congregation.¹ The president insisted upon regular attendance of the pastors at the conference and synodical meetings,² believing that no one should be excused.³ There is no clear-cut evidence that the increased powers of the president had been secured deliberately or that he was dreaming of becoming a bishop. In fact, in 1865 he requested the Synod to elect someone in his place,⁴ and in 1867 he expressed a wish for a president who had no other duties than those of his office.⁵ These requests were not heeded, but in 1870 a few pastors suggested at the synodical convention that the continual reëlection of one person might lead to the establishment of an Episcopal form of church government.⁶ During the meeting Hasselquist was in Sweden in the interest of the Seminary and Synod, and another president was elected.⁷ This was accomplished in spite of much opposition, for the opponents of a change argued that such a move would be most unfair, and probably would hinder Hasselquist's mission if any rumors should reach the Swedish church officials which might be interpreted as meaning that Hasselquist was no longer in favor in America. But the small insurgent group strategically stressed the fear that the Augustana Synod was becoming Episcopalian and that it appeared that the existence of the Synod was dependent upon one man, in brief, that Hasselquist was the Synod. This gave a serious aspect to the matter, and when the ballots were cast, Jonas Swensson received thirty-one votes, Erland Carlsson twenty, and Hasselquist sixteen. These two friends of Hasselquist at first declined the nomination, but later, perhaps fearing an unfortunate outcome, decided to be candidates

¹ Hasselquist to P. A. Cederstam, Paxton, Ill., Oct. 23, 1865.

² Hasselquist to A. Andren, Paxton, Ill., May 3, 1865.

³ Hasselquist to C. A. Hedengran, Paxton, Ill., May 8, 1865.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1865, pp. 5-7.

⁵ Ibid, 1867, p. 7.

⁶ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 73.

⁷ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1869, p. 32.

on a second ballot, as a majority was necessary for election. This time J. Swensson was elected by thirty-eight votes, while E. Carlsson and Hasselquist received seventeen and ten respectively, and Norelius was favored with one.¹ The man selected was a loyal Lutheran in every respect. He had attended the synodical conventions faithfully, and although his part had been that of a listener, as secretary he knew a great deal about the rules and the business of the organization.²

A successful decade had passed, but just as the Synod entered hopefully upon its second ten years, there came a blow to Hasselquist's ideas of unionism and church cooperation in the secession of the Norwegians. This movement, which was to affect so profoundly the future of the Synod as well as all aspects of Scandinavian church life in America, was the result of such complex forces and prolonged negotiations that they call for an extended consideration of their own.

¹ Hemlandet, June 21, 1870.

² Augustana, 1875, No. 17.

CHAPTER VI

THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD AND THE PROBLEM OF UNION TO THE SECESSION OF THE NORWEGIANS

The history of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America differs a great deal from that of the Swedish Lutheran Church, owing to the fact, already pointed out, that the Norwegian leaders were younger, and could not agree on doctrinal matters. In 1839, the Norwegian Elling Eielsen arrived in America. He was a disciple of Hans Nielson Hauge, a noted lay preacher in Norway. Eielsen was also a lay preacher who, caring little for a definite church system, organized his forces into what was called a synod ("the Ellingians"), a body strongly influenced by Eielsen's anti-State Church feelings and his antipathy toward anything that was reminiscent of "priestcraft." In 1842, a Dane by the name of C. L. Clausen, who had spent some time in Norway, came to America. Shortly after his arrival, he was ordained by a German Lutheran pastor, and tried to coöperate with Eielsen, but the lack of proper order and organization caused him to sever his connection with "Elling."

A year later Wilhelm Dietrichson appeared. Dietrichson was a well educated man who had been ordained in Norway, where he had come under the influence of Grundtvigianism, a doctrine which taught that repentance after death was possible. He also found it difficult to coöperate with Eielsen, for he was firmly convinced of the necessity of church order and that clergymen should wear a distinctive garb. Naturally this caused an intense strife between the followers of Dietrichson and those of Eielsen, and although the former did not remain long in the country, his partisans united in an organization known as the Norwegian Synod of Wisconsin. This group angered the Ellingians even more when it joined the Missouri Synod and established a chair in Theology at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis. The Eielsen

group could now not only attack the Norwegian Synod for being guilty of heresy (Grundtvigianism), and for being high-churchly in that they wore pastoral garbs and advocated church forms and order, but they could also accuse them of defending slavery, because of their connection with the institution of the Missouri Synod, which tried to justify the existence of slavery on Biblical grounds. It was the extremists of these two bodies that caused some of the Norwegians to affiliate with the Swedes and seek a union with the Northern Illinois Synod, thus creating the problems that were to be solved only by years of struggle and contention.¹

This state of affairs must have handicapped the development of the Norwegian Lutheran churches. There were some who, in spite of the differences, dreamed of a future union. Rev. Jacob A. Ottesen of the Norwegian Synod of Wisconsin stated that the brethren of the Northern Illinois Synod would be gladly accepted as members of the Norwegian Synod, if they would subscribe to the latter's platform.² But, unfortunately, the differences and doctrinal controversies between the Norwegians of the Northern Illinois Synod and those of the Wisconsin Synod continued to become even greater. At first, the Swedes had little, if anything, to do with these controversies.³ A serious effort was made to bring about a closer understanding and a union between the Scandinavians of the Northern Illinois Synod and of the Norwegian Synod. As the chief differences were doctrinal, Rev. A. C. Preus suggested a Scandinavian Conference to discuss and, if possible, settle all misunderstandings.⁴

The Scandinavians accepted the invitation. The first serious attempt to overcome the obstacles for a union had been made. Rev. A. C. Preus, Prof. Larsen of St. Louis, and Rev. J. A. Ottesen led the discussions for the Norwegian Synod. Rev. Paul Andersen was the only Norwegian who represented the Norwegians of the Northern Illinois Synod,

¹ A. A. Stomberg, "Early Efforts at Scandinavian Church Union in America," in Swedish Historical Society of America Year Book, 1923-1924, pp. 11-14.

² The Missionary, March 13, 1856.

³ Hemlandet, Aug. 17, 1859.

⁴ Ibid, July 8, 1859.

while the Swedes sent their most able men, Erland Carlsson, O. C. T. Andrén, L. P. Esbjorn, and T. N. Hasselquist. The conference seemed doomed to failure from the very outset. The Norwegian Synod of Wisconsin had chiefly attacked the Scandinavians of the Northern Illinois Synod for their unholy alliance or union with that Synod which they (the Wisconsin Synod) considered a non-orthodox Lutheran body. Rev. A. C. Preus, therefore, proposed the following topic for discussion: "Is not union according to its common church historical sense unbiblical and un-Lutheran?" The topic was voted down and the one suggested by Erland Carlsson accepted, namely, "Is a union among us desirable?" Everybody agreed that union was desirable. Hasselquist, who feared that the whole attempt would after all fail, wanted to have the advantages of union stated so that they could be used against those who later might oppose an alliance. Stronger feelings of opposition soon became manifest when the next question, "Is Union Possible?" was discussed. Rev. Paul Andersen began to question the doctrinal soundness of the Norwegian Synod, but received the satisfactory answer that the Synod did not believe in the possibility of repentance after death. Hasselquist then asked why Grundtvigianism had existed among the Norwegians, and this was also satisfactorily answered in that Grundtvig, at first, had some followers among the Norwegians, but that the Synod was not "Grundtvigian."

In disposing of these matters serious obstacles had been overcome, but another topic, that of lay service, threatened to ruin all the benefits of the conference. The members of the Norwegian Synod were opposed to lay service, while Hasselquist and his followers favored a moderate use of the system.¹ Rev. L. P. Esbjorn remarked that no one was justified in calling another body non-Lutheran for using lay service because of the fourteenth article of the Augsburg Confession. Such views could not be accepted by Prof. Larsen, who also believed that his "brethren" shared the same views as he did, and even Rev. O. C. T. Andrén challenged the technicality of Esbjorn's statement. It was

¹ Hemlandet, Aug. 17, 1859.

clear that the conference had now struck the chord of differences, and caution was necessary. Preus tried to interrupt the discussion and direct a few blows against the Northern Illinois Synod, but Hasselquist prevented him, stating that he had nothing against Preus' criticism of the Northern Illinois Synod, but the question of the use of laymen was so important that the discussion should not be interrupted, and in a long speech he attempted to prove that the use of lay service was in accordance with the Scriptures.

Erland Carlsson, who was a practical man rather than a theologian, stated that Esbjorn's remarks had caused dissension instead of creating good feelings, and that the conference had been called in an attempt to bring about union and not for the purpose of discussing theology. The question of lay service was, therefore, passed over for later settlement, and Hasselquist endeavored to put the Norwegians on the defensive by giving them an opportunity to defend their repeated attacks on the non-Lutheranism of the Northern Illinois Synod. Rev. Preus answered that Hasselquist's challenge was out of place. The Norwegians were, however, forced to admit that the Scandinavians of the Northern Illinois Synod were Lutherans in Confession, whereupon O. C. T. Andrén went one step farther, asking if the Scandinavians who belonged to the General Synod (of which the Northern Illinois Synod was a part) were Lutherans. All of the Norwegians agreed that they were not. Esbjorn defended the Northern Illinois Synod; Erland Carlsson insisted upon proofs that this Synod, regardless of the Scandinavians, was not Lutheran. He lost his usual self-control as he exclaimed, "If you consider your interpretation in accordance with the Word of God, so we do even more believe ours to be."¹ A furious discussion was also aroused when Paul Andersen was asked in what manner he conducted altar services for the Lord's Supper. These questions were not settled when the Chicago Conference of July 7-8, 1859, came to a close. An attempt at union had failed, but at least the individuals present agreed

¹ Hemlandet, Aug. 24, 1859.

not to accuse one another of heresy, and a committee was appointed to set the time for a second conference, when the matter of union might be taken up again.¹

Subsequent developments showed that the conference had accomplished little, if anything. The religious organ of the Wisconsin Synod published an article entitled, "Is Union Possible?" which was answered with, "I for one say, No!" Then Prof. Larsen, in a sermon at Red Wing, Minnesota, made conditions worse by accusing the Scandinavians of the Northern Illinois Synod of being non-Lutherans, and thus the resolution adopted at the conference had come to naught, and accusations of heresy were again being hurled from all sides.² The United Scandinavian Conference of the Northern Illinois Synod held a meeting, and this group decided that as the Norwegian Synod had broken its pledges, its efforts to bring about union could not be considered seriously, and therefore the United Scandinavian Conferences of the Northern Illinois Synod resolved not to take part in any other conference unless convinced of the Norwegian Synod's sincerity.³ It was clear that the Norwegian Synod regarded the Scandinavian Lutherans as having fallen away from true Lutheranism; the one group regarded itself as made up of "superior Lutherans," while the other group believed themselves to be "better Lutherans."⁴ On their part, the Scandinavian Lutherans were very skeptical about the doctrines of the Norwegian Synod, still fearing that it was contaminated by Grundtvigianism. The *Kirkelig Maanedstidende's* continual attacks upon the Scandinavians of the Northern Illinois Synod widened the gap between them and even after the separation from the Northern Illinois Synod, *Maanedstidende* writes, "We rejoice that they so soon were taken out of the meshes of lies in which the devil wanted to keep them bound." The periodical further claimed that the constitution of the Augustana Synod was a copy of the constitution of the Northern Illinois Synod; that its pietism was hypocrisy; that it was

¹ Hemlandet, Aug. 29, 1859.

² Ibid, Aug. 24, 1859.

³ Ibid, Sept. 21, 1859.

⁴ Ibid, June 13, 1859.

guilty of heresy and that it was non-Lutheran because it tolerated revivals.¹

Due to this attitude the separation of the Scandinavians from the Northern Illinois Synod did not bring peace. The effects of this strife soon began to be felt in the Augustana Synod, and there was evidence as early as 1861 that Hasselquist faced a difficult and confusing problem.² The situation, briefly, was this: two groups among the Norwegians had separated from the Northern Illinois Synod along with the Swedes, and the three had united in forming the Augustana Synod. One of these groups had earlier been connected with "Hauge's Friends" or the group led by Elling Eielsen, and they were definitely hostile to following the rules and orders of the State Church of Norway, while the second group was inclined toward liturgical forms.

In 1860 three Norwegians were ordained, and affiliated themselves with the second group—those who accepted the customs as well as the changes that had been made in the State Church of Norway. In 1861, their cause was strengthened by the arrival of Rev. C. J. P. Petersen from Norway.³ T. N. Hasselquist permitted these two groups to settle their own differences as far as was possible, and in 1861 it was decided that both factions were to adopt the Norwegian Altar-book and definite form of service.⁴ Rev. Petersen seemed determined to carry out everything the agreement might apply, and began to wear the ministerial garb of the State Church of Norway. As president of the Synod, Hasselquist was forced to act, when Petersen's congregation protested. He wrote to Petersen that he had not changed his opinion "that clothes did not make the preacher," but a ministerial garb was unessential, and as "no one except the Wisconsin Synod uses them," it would be advisable to dispense with the garb. Petersen's idea that not wearing the garb would instill disrespect toward the church among the new immigrants, Hasselquist did not believe, and he suggested that the whole matter be placed in the hands of

¹ Swedish Historical Society of America, Year Book, 1923-1924, pp. 18-22.

² Hasselquist to O. C. T. Andrén, Galesburg, Ill., Oct. 11, 1861.

³ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 137.

⁴ Ibid, p. 141.

the congregation. The letter was not written by Hasselquist as the executive of the Synod but as a "friend."¹ As this high-churchly tendency was not checked, but on the contrary increased in intensity, Hasselquist began to suspect that there was an anti-Swedish feeling back of the disturbance.² The misunderstandings between the two groups became greater and in one case Hasselquist forced a reconciliation between the two pastors involved.³ His formerly indifferent attitude had become firm, when order was threatened; the Synod must be obeyed; its decisions were law until they had been changed; and disorder should be properly punished by the Synod.⁴ Thus disciplined, a large number seemed to be drifting toward the Norwegian Synod of Wisconsin.⁵

In spite of earlier convictions of the futility of further attempts to bring about a union among the Scandinavians, a second conference was held at Chicago in 1863. The sessions of this conference were conducted in a friendly manner and matters which could not be agreed upon were left to a third gathering.⁶ In spite of the bitterness of the quarrels, Hasselquist was not involved personally. He was revered by the Norwegians; one addressed him as "dear and highly beloved Bishop," and even the Norwegian Synod of Wisconsin never mentioned his name in its attacks on the Augustana Synod.⁷ The next conference, that at Jefferson Prairie in 1864, ended more unhappily than the former, and the gap between the two churches was widened to such an extent that the Augustana Synod became convinced that further conferences would be futile. A fourth invitation was, therefore, declined.⁸

Hasselquist also believed that the Wisconsin Synod "had

¹ Hasselquist to C. J. P. Petersen, Galesburg, Ill., Aug. 5, 1862.

² Hasselquist to O. C. T. Andrén, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 9, 1863.

³ Hasselquist to A. Johnson, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 20, 1864; Hasselquist to O. Andersen, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 23, 1864.

⁴ Hasselquist to O. Johnson, Paxton, Ill., April 9, 1864.

⁵ Erland Carlsson to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Jan. 19, 1865.

⁶ Swedish Historical Society of America, Year Book, 1923-24, pp. 24-25. Stomberg believes that there was no evidence of a third conference. However, the above letter indicates that a third conference was held.

⁷ Ibid, p. 25.

⁸ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1868, p. 21.

grown from bad to worse," but was anxious to strengthen the ties between the Scandinavians of the Augustana Synod, and urged them to fill the professorship at Augustana College and Theological Seminary as soon as possible.¹ If the Jefferson Prairie Conference somewhat checked the pro-Norwegian Synod party of the Augustana Synod, its effects were not of long duration. Rev. Petersen worked "with hands and feet" to draw as many of the Norwegians as possible to the Wisconsin Synod. The anti-Norwegian group was led by Ole Andrewsen, assisted by Paul Andersen. Hasselquist referred to this group as the "half-dead American Party," probably because they "would rather return to the Northern Illinois Synod" than have anything that might remind them of the State Church of Norway. Hasselquist tried in vain to warn them; Andrewsen refused to heed Hasselquist's request to use the Norwegian altar service and forms in order to attract as many Norwegians as possible.

In this Hasselquist was entirely consistent. He believed the Synod's mission big enough when confined to the immigrants, but those two anti-Norwegians thought that their mission included the "Americans," a view which seemed entirely impractical to Hasselquist.² He had, seemingly, been forced to lean toward the Petersen Party, but in time he became thoroughly disgusted with the whole affair. The union between the Norwegians and the Swedes not only seemed unnatural, but even the union of a small group of Norwegians of the Augustana Synod seemed impossible. It was disturbing to peace and order, and the president expressed the wish, "I would gladly see ourselves alone!"³ There was one matter on which Hasselquist was determined. He would prevent the Swedes from scattering "into atoms" as a result of debates and discussions. He had little sympathy with too rapid an Americanization; neither could he be wholly on the side of Petersen's idea of slow Americanization. As far as it was necessary for Hasselquist to be

¹ Hasselquist to O. J. Hatlestad, Paxton, Ill., July 19, 1864.

² Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Feb. 8, 1865.

³ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 23, 1865.

a partisan, he believed that Paul Andersen was unjust and his secret scheming condemnable.

The Norwegian Synod, undoubtedly realizing the character of the strife within the Augustana Synod, tried to stimulate it by charging that it was rapidly becoming Americanized. Such a fact, Hasselquist wrote, he would have regarded as a compliment, had he not considered the source.¹ Events moved rapidly. The Norwegian Synod literally bombarded the Augustana Synod. Hasselquist was forced by circumstances, in order to preserve the unity of the Scandinavians, to enter into heated debates with the Norwegian Synod. In the theological debates, Rev. O. Estrem took the side of the Wisconsin Synod. The president's wrath was aroused; a man whom the Augustana Synod had practically clothed and educated had in ingratitude turned against the Synod.² Hasselquist also discovered that he had to change his attitude toward Petersen and made a last attempt to settle the affair peacefully by a visit to Chicago.³ An extra synodical convention was called which met in Chicago March 20-23, 1866. The case concerning Rev. Petersen was taken up. He was warned not to wear the ministerial garb, but a decision as to his fate was not made, and the pastor agreed to abide by whatever decision the Synod should take at the next meeting.⁴ Very little had been accomplished at this extra synodical convention.⁵ Petersen made the situation more acute by calling a meeting of the trustees of his congregation in order to secure their help in withdrawing the congregation from the Augustana Synod. Hasselquist immediately summoned another synodical gathering for the purpose of properly punishing Petersen,⁶ who had openly violated his promise to let the matter drop until an official decision had been made. It was also revealed that Petersen had excluded those who were opposed to his ideas from membership in the congregation in order that he might be able to carry out his plans to withdraw. This second

¹ Hasselquist to O. Sheldahl, Paxton, Ill., July 27, 1865.

² Hasselquist to O. J. Hatlestad, Paxton, Ill., March 10, 1866.

³ Hasselquist to J. F. O. Duwell, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 1, 1866.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1866, pp. 5-13.

⁵ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., April 11, 1866.

⁶ Hasselquist to Swensson, Paxton, Ill., April 16, 1866.

extra synodical convention met in Chicago April 24–27. Petersen was expelled from the Synod,¹ and with him went Rev. O. Estrem and Rev. A. Jacobsen, who with Petersen joined the Wisconsin Synod. This seems to have removed a great deal of misunderstanding among the Norwegians still remaining in the Augustana group,² though the troubles with the Wisconsin Synod were not yet settled.

For Hasselquist, it was a crucial battle. Always in close relationship with his best men, he urged them to fight when he did not have the time.³ He wrote to Erland Carlsson, "You have to be on your watch and now and then send a bomb into the camp of the enemy."⁴ As the strife was waged almost entirely in the Norwegian papers, *Fædrelandet*, *Emigranten*, and *Skandinaven*,⁵ Hasselquist's articles were not always accepted by the editors.⁶ The Wisconsin Synod had been strengthened by Petersen, Estrem and Jacobsen, while the Augustana Synod in some respects had been weakened by the loss of these men. But, on the whole, the Norwegians of the Augustana Synod showed no interest in the strife. Hasselquist wrote to Andrewsen, "But you keep quiet, as if it did not concern you, and leave it to us to fight if we wish. It is not right... You and the other Norwegian brethren must gather material so that I may not be silenced from lack of ammunition."⁷

These controversies caused the Augustana Synod to take a firmer stand than ever on its own principles, and at the Synodical Ministerium at Rockford, Illinois, August 20–24, 1866, it was resolved that the position of the Synod on the question of lay service be supported; that the use of experienced lay preachers be recommended; and that the deacons of the congregation should be permitted to lead the church services in the absence of the pastor. Clarifying its doctrinal position, the Synod also declared its beliefs that Christ had atoned for man's sins, that the Gospel

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1866, pp. 13–14; Hemlandet, May 22, 1866.

² Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1866, p. 20.

³ Hasselquist to G. Peters, Paxton, Ill., April 17, 1866.

⁴ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., May 5, 1866.

⁵ Hasselquist to O. Andrewsen, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 11, 1866.

⁶ Hasselquist to Emigranten, Paxton, Ill., June 1, 1866.

⁷ Hasselquist to O. Andrewsen, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 11, 1866.

taught, contained, and offered forgiveness of sins, but that forgiveness was extended only to those who believed that Confession was a necessary prerequisite to Absolution. The Synod took a definite stand upon the holiness of the Sabbath, and declared unequivocally that the question of slavery had never caused a division within its ranks and that it had always contended that slavery was contrary to Christianity.¹

This positive stand on the part of the Augustana Synod was, naturally, a challenge to the Wisconsin Synod. Hasselquist feared that the rival organization might gain ground. Paul Andersen had openly expressed his dissatisfaction over the strife, and the determined hostility of the *Skandinaven* might agitate the Norwegians remaining within the Augustana Synod.² This struggle into which Hasselquist had thrown himself had, undoubtedly, made him one of the best known Lutherans in America, but he sought to justify his actions by saying that he had not provoked the debates or begun them. He was confident that the ideas of his opponents would never prevail because of their merits, but he feared their "slyness."³ He was, therefore, constantly on his guard.

In the midst of this controversy a friendly invitation was sent to Hasselquist by Rev. H. A. Preus, a man against whom Hasselquist had directed many attacks, requesting the president to be present at another conference.⁴ This was a challenge to Hasselquist's spirit of unionism. It was well directed; and demanded an answer. He shrewdly replied that he was absolutely in sympathy with a complete union of the Scandinavians, but feared that the continual debates and discussions were only forcing them farther apart.⁵ The invitation was also extended to the Augustana Synod through *Skandinaven*. It was written in a "worthy" style and necessitated a "worthy" answer. Hasselquist requested Erland Carlsson to draft a reply, giving the reasons

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1867, pp. 36-38.

² Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Oct. 12, 1866.

³ Hasselquist to J. Naesse, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 2, 1866.

⁴ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 6, 1866.

⁵ Hasselquist to H. A. Preus, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 8, 1866.

why the Augustana Synod hesitated to meet the Wisconsin Synod in any conference. It was dangerous to discuss theological questions with "the learned Norwegians," and Hasselquist believed that every word must be carefully weighed if it was to have any effect in bringing to light the errors in the doctrines of his opponents.¹ He had been determined that these theological disputes should not take place in the Swedish papers and disturb their peace, but since the Norwegians had begun the affair, it should be continued in their periodicals.² As for the proposed conference, Hasselquist would not consent to attend, if he should be compelled to confess any mistakes and give up all for which he had fought. He expected, at least, that the Augustana Synod should be treated as an equal of the Norwegian Synod.³ He felt that he could dictate his own terms, for he had been successful, or at least thought that he had won a glorious victory in the debates with the Norwegians.⁴ Finally, he expressed his weariness over the constant contention, the brunt of which he had borne on behalf of the Augustana Synod. But he had no idea of discontinuing the fray, writing to Norelius, "We have them on the ice, and must keep them there, and not allow them to get away."⁵

Without doubt this combat of words had injured the Norwegians, as it had been waged in their papers. Realizing this, they put an end to all further discussions. There was a lull in the storm, when suddenly all unhealed wounds were again torn open by the news that Rev. H. A. Preus, on a visit to Scandinavia, reported that he had traced the origin of the Augustana Synod and found that as it had originated from unclean wells, it could not be a true Lutheran body.⁶ With the revival of bitterness that ensued, it was again impossible for the Synods to meet in a conference.⁷

While engaged in the argument with the Norwegian Synod, Hasselquist had speculated on the possibilities of a

¹ Hasselquist to S. M. Kroghnaess, Paxton, Ill., March 20, 1867.

² Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., March 21, 1867.

³ Hasselquist to C. P. Clausen, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 13, 1867.

⁴ Hasselquist to A. Johnson, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 21, 1867.

⁵ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., April 26, 1867.

⁶ Hemlandet, Aug. 13, 1867.

⁷ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1868, pp. 21-23.

union with the "Ellings." He tried to show a friendly spirit toward them and was even successful in undertaking a conference which ended in failure. Hasselquist was disappointed. He had been unable to attend the conference personally and felt that the Augustana Synod had been unfair to the "Ellings," frightening them instead of showing them brotherly love, thus making them enemies instead of friends, a policy from which the Wisconsin Synod would surely profit.¹

There was the more reason for worry as a general spirit of unrest was noticeable among the Norwegian Lutherans, a condition which Hasselquist believed was due to the influence of the Wisconsin Synod. Rev. C. J. P. Petersen had made repeated visits to Hatlestad, Ottesen, Eggen, and Krognaess. The desire to separate from the Swedes grew in spite of the closer tie which had been formed between them in the calling of a Norwegian professor to Augustana College and Theological Seminary. But with this the group favoring separation found fault, claiming that Professor A. Weenaas "was a young and inexperienced theologian."² Hasselquist would not have opposed an honest and open movement by the Norwegians to separate from the Swedes, but the fact that they separated after Weenaas had been called to the college was a disappointment.³ As the rumors of separation reached him, he tried to "reason the thing out."⁴ When Weenaas arrived in America to fill the chair, Hasselquist found that he liked the new man, and believed that all the difficulties might be settled if only Weenaas would be drawn to the "right side." The seriousness, or rather earnestness of this separatistic movement among the Norwegians of the Augustana Synod must have been clear to Hasselquist, though he at times wished to give the impression that the unity of the Synod was being strength-

¹ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 9, 1867. He made a second serious effort to bring about a closer understanding with the "Ellings," but this must have failed. Hasselquist to O. J. Hatlestad, Paxton, Ill., May 26, 1868.

² Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., April 25, 1868. This partly frees Weenaas from the charge of being the originator of separation, as Stomberg claims. Swedish Historical Society of America, Year Book, 1923-24, pp. 29-30.

³ Hasselquist to J. M. Eggen, Paxton, Ill., April 23, 1868.

⁴ Hasselquist to O. J. Hatlestad, Paxton, Ill., April 25, 1868.

ened.¹ It is hardly possible that the usually wide-awake Hasselquist could have taken the signs of 1868 so lightly even when a committee had been appointed to discuss the advisability of the Norwegians organizing their own Synod.²

The president's report in 1869 did not picture the true situation, but an ideal condition that Hasselquist dreamed of. Nationalism and localism had been spoken of as vital factors in this move for separation, and though Hasselquist did not believe that these matters justified separation, he said, "Christianity does not seem powerful enough to overcome this nationalism."³ He claimed, however, that he would not resist the movement⁴ but that he was not the cause for it, and would have preferred to have seen the division upon geographical grounds rather than nationalistic, hoping that then the members of the Synod might have kept in touch with each other, through a General Synod.⁵ At any rate, when the Norwegians decided to found their own school in 1869, Hasselquist did not interfere.⁶ This proved to be a step toward the complete separation in 1870. Doctrinal controversies had no part in bringing about this final move; it was caused by the sentiments of language and nationality, and the feeling that the Swedish division of the Synod had overshadowed the Norwegian part, and that, if they were independent, the Norwegians might be able to devote more energy to their own problems, thereby increasing their church membership more quickly.⁷ The Swedes permitted the Norwegians to make their own decision, and when separation was proposed, they did not take part in the debates, except when Norelius urged either a radical separation or none at all. Nevertheless, the debates became very heated, as eight Norwegians wished to remain in the Augustana Synod, and it was only

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1869, p. 5.

² Swedish Historical Society of America, Year Book, 1923-1924, pp. 29-30.

³ Hasselquist to W. A. Passavant, Paxton, Ill., June 26, 1869.

⁴ Hasselquist to A. Reck, Paxton, Ill., April 8, 1869.

⁵ Hasselquist to A. Klove, Paxton, Ill., April 10, 1869.

⁶ Augustana, May and June, 1869.

⁷ Swedish Historical Society of America, Year Book, 1923-24, pp. 25-28; Hemlandet, July 19, 1870.

after a very long discussion that separation finally carried by a vote of 62 to 12.¹

This secession, however, did not sever all connections between Hasselquist and the Norwegians. The theological debates continued with no apparent practical results, and their sincerity was ridiculed by the less orthodox Lutherans.² These debates were now conducted in the columns of *Maanedstidende* and *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*.³ Hasselquist, believing the strife endless, finally proposed that the question be placed before the General Council, but the Wisconsin Synod would not agree to this proposal.⁴ In 1873, Hasselquist decided to discontinue the discussion, but the newly organized Norwegian-Danish Conference took up the discussion where Hasselquist had discontinued.⁵

The Norwegians who had separated from the Augustana Synod in 1870 formed that same year the Norwegian-Danish Synod, which in turn divided into two independent church organizations in 1871. There were now four Norwegian Lutheran Synods, all independent and not on very friendly terms with one another.⁶ Many of the Norwegians liked Hasselquist and when, in 1872, the two Norwegian church groups that had formerly been a part of the Augustana Synod, tried to come to an understanding with each other and undo the separation of 1871, Hasselquist was invited to the "Peace Conference" at Decorah, Iowa. He was anxious to help, but feared that it would be impossible for him to accomplish anything. However, he asked Prof. Weenaas to state clearly the points in dispute.⁷ Through correspondence he endeavored to bring about a better understanding between the leaders of the two groups, but he decided that he would never attend the conference at Decorah unless he would be allowed to draw up a proposal for union before the meeting.⁸ Although both of the groups had decided

¹ *Hemlandet*, June 28, 1870.

² *Lutheran Observer*, Jan. 28, 1870.

³ *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, April, 1871.

⁴ *Ibid*, October, 1872.

⁵ Hasselquist to G. Fritchell, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 21, 1873.

⁶ *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, April, 1871.

⁷ Hasselquist to A. Weenaas, Paxton, Ill., April 7, 1872.

⁸ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., April 12, 1872.

upon Hasselquist as a mediator, it is evident that the powers he desired were not extended, because he declined the invitation, feeling assured that nothing could be done in the matter of unity.¹ Many of these Norwegians continued to hold Hasselquist in high personal regard, but after 1872 there was very little official connection between them.²

Norwegians did not seem to have been in favor of the coöperation of the Augustana Synod with the General Council of Lutheran Churches in America,³ and their separation, perhaps, made another favorite plan of Hasselquist's, that of joining the General Council, more possible. Dr. W. A. Passavant had been eager to have the Augustana Synod join the General Synod in 1860 in order that the orthodox element of that organization might be strengthened.⁴ The Augustana Synod of 1860 was not strong, it felt the need of sympathy and financial help from other Synods, but because of the "New Lutheranism" of the General Synod, it sought aid, instead, from the Joint Synod of Ohio, and the Pennsylvania Synod.⁵ The latter was at that time the largest Lutheran organization in America, and its conservatism was an inducement for a closer relationship on the part of the Augustana Synod. Hasselquist was anxious to form a close friendship with the latter, and had planned to attend its synodical conventions in 1862 and 1863 but was unable to do so because the meetings of the Pennsylvania Synod were held simultaneously with those of the Augustana Synod.⁶ In 1864 the Pennsylvania Synod withdrew from the General Synod because the latter had accepted the Franckean Synod as a member, in spite of the fact that the Franckean Synod had not adopted the Augsburg Confession.⁷ Hasselquist had tried to strengthen the ties of friendship between the Augustana and Pennsylvania

¹ Hasselquist to D. Lysnaes, Paxton, Ill., May 14, 1872.

² A. Weenaas to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., Nov. 7, 1882.

³ Swedish Historical Society of America, Year Book, 1923-24, pp. 27-28. Hemlandet, July 12, 1870. An article in this issue claims that the Norwegians did not dislike the General Synod.

⁴ Augustana Synod, 1860-1910, p. 222.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Hasselquist to C. W. Schaeffer, Paxton, Ill., May 20, 1864; Hasselquist to O. Estrem, Paxton, Ill., April 15, 1865.

⁷ Augustana Synod, 1860-1910, p. 215.

Synods by an extensive correspondence with such men as Dr. C. W. Schaeffer, and Rev. O. Estrem had been sent to the eastern Synod's Seminary to continue his studies.¹

After the Pennsylvania Synod had withdrawn from the General Synod, it set out to foster the organization of another general church group which was to include the more conservative Lutheran bodies. A preliminary convention for this purpose met at Reading, Pennsylvania, December, 1866. Hasselquist was at this time unable to attend, but expressed his best wishes for its success.² This might have been a premeditated absence. He was anxious to join this projected organization, but he had heard from Dr. W. A. Passavant that the Missouri Synod had planned to send four delegates to the convention at Reading. Although Passavant had expressed doubt that the Missouri group would actually join, the Swedish leader would not take any chances and refused to recommend that his Synod should unite under circumstances which he described as "a bad fix."³ He also feared that the Wisconsin Synod might come in, and he disliked the attitude of *The Lutheran and the Missionary* (the organ of the Pennsylvania Synod). He found, therefore, that a trip to Lake Superior and his duties were too important to warrant his presence at Reading.⁴ But not wishing to ignore the meeting entirely, Erland Carlsson was instructed to attend, although it was firmly believed that Carlsson would not go.⁵ This attitude demonstrated that Hasselquist's zeal for unionism was not so strong that he would, without caution, affiliate with any chance church organization, and it also gave him an opportunity to insist that *The Lutheran and the Missionary* should take the part of the Augustana Synod in the debates against the Norwegian Synod.⁶ A change was promised, a new editor was to be elected, and Dr. Passavant promised to contribute something on the subject of the Norwegian strife.⁷

¹ Hasselquist to C. W. Schaeffer, Paxton, Ill., May 18, 1865.

² Augustana Synod, 1860-1910, p. 222.

³ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 23, 1866.

⁴ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 3, 1866.

⁵ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 7, 1866.

⁶ Hasselquist to W. A. Passavant, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 30, 1866.

⁷ E. Norelius to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., Dec. 27, 1866.

It is not difficult to understand what Hasselquist meant by his expression "a bad fix." The General Synod, as well as the Missouri Synod and the Wisconsin Synod, were very hostile to the Augustana Synod, and what Hasselquist needed was friends, not enemies. By winning *The Lutheran and the Missionary* to his side, something had been accomplished.¹ The conditions in New York also impressed the fact that it was desirable to have friends who could offer financial aid.² Therefore, when the "General Council" of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America was organized at Fort Wayne, Indiana, November 20-26, 1867 (the date set by the preliminary convention at Reading, Pennsylvania), as a protest against the laxity of the General Synod on doctrinal matters, Hasselquist was present and recommended on his return that, as there was no longer any fear that the Missouri Synod would join, the Augustana Synod should become a member.³

Thereafter he gave his full support to the General Council in *Augustana*, for though he found it not without faults, as long as it was sound in doctrine, he was determined to stand by its side. This support was quite important, and although for a time theological questions threatened to disrupt the Council, by 1868 it had practically weathered the storm and the conservative element was secure. The Council then began its discussions of the "four dangerous points": Intercommunion, Exchange of Altars, Secret Societies, and Chiliasm.⁴ Hasselquist was very eager to have the Augustana Synod join in these discussions, as he believed that it was a step toward the unity of all the Lutheran Synods.⁵ He was a member of the "Four Points" committee in 1868 and again in 1869 he showed his interest in the Council by heading a larger delegation, and serving also as a member of the "English Church Book Committee."⁶ It would take too much space and time to discuss Hassel-

¹ Hasselquist to Rev. H. M. Bicket, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 26, 1867.

² Hasselquist to C. W. Schaeffer, Paxton, Ill., June 25, 1867.

³ *Hemlandet*, Dec. 1, 1867.

⁴ *Augustana*, January, 1869.

⁵ Hasselquist to K. W. Kuhn, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 14, 1868.

⁶ General Council Convention, Minutes, 1868-1869, pp. 22-25, 5, 39.

quist's stand on the "Four Points," but it is certain that he revealed himself as ultraconservative and uncompromisingly orthodox.¹ In the meantime the Augustana Synod, although its president had been coöperating, did not wish to join the General Council until the "Articles of Faith and Church Polity" had been translated into Swedish and Norwegian.² When this had been done satisfactorily, the situation was complicated by a proposal of the General Council that it tax the Synod, which Hasselquist had to prevent, fearing that such a step might prevent union and "put a stone in our way."³ But in 1870, at the synodical convention, Hasselquist's recommendation was accepted and the Augustana Synod finally became a member of the General Council.⁴

Hasselquist was satisfied thus far, but he soon had cause to fear that the doctrinal strife within the Council would check its progress, and lead to a division rather than preserve "a union," which "we all wish and have been laboring to secure."⁵ It was rather wearisome, and Hasselquist expressed the wish that the Council would be "a child before it could act as if it were grown up."⁶ But in 1872, he was again dreaming of "a true United Lutheran Church" with the General Council as a basis for this union.⁷ Hasselquist's conservatism led the Augustana Synod to take a stand which was to become the famous Galesburg Rule: "Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers, and Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants."⁸ Hasselquist's sound doctrinal stand must have been a vital factor in strengthening the Lutheran orthodoxy of the General Council, which became more and more conservative,⁹ and as time went on the

¹ His views are well pointed out in Augustana, April and June, 1869.

² Augustana Synod, 1860-1910, pp. 224-225.

³ Hasselquist to H. W. Roth, Paxton, Ill., April 9, 1869.

⁴ Hemlandet, July 12, 1870; Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1870.

⁵ Hasselquist to S. K. Brobst, Paxton, Ill., April 1, 1871.

⁶ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 182-184.

⁷ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, November, 1872.

⁸ Ibid, April, 1873. The real author of this resolution was Jonas Swensson, but it was not until 1875 that the Synod adopted it, and insisted that similar action be taken by the General Council. Augustana, 1876, No. 3; Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1876, p. 12; The Augustana Quarterly, 1929, p. 1.

⁹ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 3, 1873. Another factor was that the General Council wished to secure the membership of the orthodox Iowa Synod.

Swedish leader became more satisfied with the Council's position in regard to the "Four Points."¹

Other dreams of union were still in the air. In 1869 Hasselquist showed a willingness to send the more able students to the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia.² He had also expressed himself in favor of a proposed Theological Seminary owned and controlled by the General Council at Chicago, Illinois, because he realized that the Scandinavians and the Germans were unable to supply the need for English speaking ministers in the Middle West.³ The General Council tried to induce the Augustana Synod to transfer its theological professor from its own Seminary to the proposed Seminary at Chicago, thus securing complete coöperation.⁴ Caution was necessary. Hasselquist had never been more pleased with the General Council, and he hoped that the Augustana Synod would make a "ripe decision."⁵ Although the Synod had already made plans to move its institution to Rock Island, this, in Hasselquist's opinion, did not mean that his Synod could not coöperate with the other plan, as the college department and possibly the shorter theological course could be retained at the new location. But the time for taking this important step did not seem to be "ripe." Erland Carlsson warned Hasselquist that he "did not have the right to decide anything," a criticism which he took good-naturedly, seeing in it a favorable "omen" that the opposition showed a great deal of interest in Augustana College and Theological Seminary.⁶

Even Hasselquist's dependable friend, J. Swensson, opposed the plan for fear that the Swedes would lose their identity in spite of the many advantages. Norelius, on the other hand, supported the coöperation, perhaps because the Minnesota Conference was engaged in establishing their own college and maturing plans to make the Conference a

¹ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, July, 1872.

² Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 27, 1869.

³ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, December, 1869.

⁴ General Council Convention, Minutes, 1870, p. 44.

⁵ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, November, 1872. Hasselquist had been appointed to the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary at Chicago by the General Council in 1872. General Council Convention Minutes, 1872, p. 29.

⁶ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 2, 1873.

District Synod, a scheme that would be furthered if Augustana Theological Seminary were moved to Chicago to become the institution of the General Council.¹ The proposal was finally decided in the negative, the Augustana Synod declaring it could not afford to send Hasselquist to Chicago, as he was needed by its own institution.² Hasselquist expressed his disappointment. The Council had befriended the Augustana Synod in many ways and the Synod was not able to care for the Americanized Swedes. He believed, however, that if the Council had located its Seminary at Rock Island, the Synod's decision might have been different. The real explanation, Norelius and Hasselquist thought, was to be found in the stronger feelings of nationality induced by the increasing number of immigrants, who made the Synod "too Swedish" to adopt the plan they had recommended.³

Hasselquist can, perhaps be partly blamed for the lack of true unity which was apparent in the Synod's relations with the General Council. While he stressed the similarity in the doctrines of the two organizations, he completely ignored other factors which might have led to a better understanding. A mistrust of the General Council gradually began to appear among the Swedes; the language question was a serious problem and a closer relationship was prevented by the distance separating the Swedes from the eastern Synods which predominated in the Council.⁴ Hasselquist may have realized the impossibility of resisting the winds of opposition, which hindered his plans for a closer coöperation with the General Council. The defeat he suffered at the Augustana Synodical Convention in 1875, when his supremacy was challenged, may have caused him to change his attitude. At any rate, he was not present at the conventions of the General Council from 1876 to 1884.⁵ The Augustana Synod's insistence upon the Galesburg Rule until its final adoption by the General Council led to many

¹ J. Swensson to E. Norelius, Andover, Ill., May 17, 1873.

² General Council Convention, Minutes, 1873, p. 32.

³ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, July, 1873.

⁴ Augustana, 1875, No. 21.

⁵ Minutes of the General Council Conventions, 1876-1884.

heated discussions in which the Augustana leader took no part other than stating that the American Lutherans had a great deal to learn before they knew what true Lutheranism was.¹ The fact that he stood aloof from these discussions worried some who believed that it was the duty of the Augustana Synod to declare its stand. But Hasselquist had also begun to realize that before he could think of a united Lutheran Church, he must first be assured that the unity of the Augustana Synod was preserved.²

Thus lacking any positive encouragement, the Augustana Synod became less and less enthusiastic members of the General Council, and had there been any tendency of "false unionism," the Synod would have withdrawn.³ In 1879, no delegation was sent to the convention,⁴ and when the General Council proposed to help the Augustana Synod in its mission among the immigrants by publishing a Swedish paper, Hasselquist expressed himself in favor of such an organ but demanded that the proposed paper be owned and controlled by the Augustana Synod, lest the Council infringe upon its rights.⁵ Coöperation, it seems, was limited to those situations in which Augustana Synod was thought to be the gainer. The General Council was, however, permitted to work with the Americanized congregations among the Swedes, with the understanding that these congregations were to remain members of the Augustana Synod, though, in time, these congregations finally withdrew.⁶ All told, the Synod accepted many favors from the Council in regard to the immigrant mission, and in return, perhaps, contributed very little.⁷

It is likely that Hasselquist thought of a "united Lutheran

¹ Augustana, 1876, No. 5.

² E. Norelius to Hasselquist, Vasa, Minn., Feb. 21, 1876.

³ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1878, p. 40.

⁴ General Council Convention, Minutes, 1879, p. 4.

⁵ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., Nov. 15, 1880.

⁶ Augustana Synod, 1860-1910, p. 88.

⁷ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1883, pp. 54-55. For a long time the Council paid half of the immigrant missionary's salary (\$400). Some of the members of the Augustana Synod feared a close relationship with the Council, because they thought that the Synod might become formalistic, as the Council was high-churchly. O. Olsson to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Dec. 11, 1880. Dr. Gustav Andreen believes that the "Augustana Synod contributed more, in fact, than their proportional share" to General Council. (Interview with Dr. G. Andreen.)

Church" as impossible before he died. Nevertheless, his work had not been without results. In spite of the fact that the Augustana Synod had never sent a proportionate delegation to the conventions of the Council, the orthodoxy of the Augustana Synod had greatly influenced the doctrines of the Council.¹ Hasselquist was considered one of the most outstanding Lutheran leaders in America, whose opinion and advice was not scorned.² During his last days, he was forced to admit that the Augustana Synod was becoming more and more "foreign" to the General Council.³ It became less willing to coöperate with the Council, regarded the Seminary in Chicago "as an occasion for division and separation," and flatly refused to accept the offer made by the Council to assist the Augustana Missions. The Synod resolved: "Our Home Mission work, both on account of language and by reason of the special features of the mission field, does not permit any transfer to another authority."⁴ The attitude of the Augustana Synod became that of a recipient who was unwilling to reciprocate.⁵

To measure Hasselquist's influence even in terms of practical results would be unfair. The Lutheran Church of America is to this day split into many bodies, but this situation should not leave the impression that the foundation for a union, to which Hasselquist contributed, has been built in vain. The Swedish leader might have been more successful if he had not been occupied with several other serious problems, namely, the expansion of the Augustana Synod as well as the problems of unity within the organization itself.⁶

¹ Augustana och Missionären, Sept. 24, 1884.

² S. W. Harkey to Hasselquist, Mt. Pleasant, Pa., March 14, 1882. Chas. Albert to Hasselquist, Chattolane (Sic), Maryland, July 19, 1890.

³ Framåt, Aug. 20, 1887.

⁴ General Council Convention, Minutes, 1887, p. 64.

⁵ Ibid, 1889, p. 28.

⁶ Rev. C. A. Blomgren believed that the unity of the Augustana Synod was preserved because it was a member of the General Council. Augustana Synod, 1860-1910, p. 227.

CHAPTER VII

HASSELQUIST AND THE EXPANSION OF THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD

The election of Rev. Jonas Swensson to the presidency of the Augustana Synod in 1870 did not imply Hasselquist's dethronement. Swensson was president in name only, and in 1871 several ballots had to be cast before he was re-elected.¹ Hasselquist was still at the height of his popularity, and his sermon at the synodical convention at Chisago Lake, Minnesota, in June, 1871, was regarded as the best part of the entire program.² Due to his years of service, as well as to the fact that he had ordained the greater number of ministers belonging to the Synod, Hasselquist considered himself one who had certain rights in admonishing, encouraging, and warning the ministers of the Augustana Synod.³ Rev. Jonas Swensson was handicapped by his ill health,⁴ and therefore the burden of the work rested upon Hasselquist more heavily as age approached.⁵

His duties remained about the same up to 1875, and his correspondence was just as copious.⁶ In all practical respects he was the real president, the two men working harmoniously side by side.⁷ Norelius explained that Swensson was not a man of action, but of order, and that Hasselquist appreciated his opinions and advice, even though Swensson at times would oppose his plans "as no one else dared." Nevertheless, the best feelings always existed between the two men.⁸ Hasselquist was still called upon to visit congregations, to preach, to dedicate churches, or install pas-

¹ Hemlandet, June 20, 1871.

² Ibid, June 27, 1871.

³ Tidskrift, 1910.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1871, p. 36.

⁵ Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 25, 1872; Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 10, 1872.

⁶ Hasselquist to P. A. Ahlberg, Paxton, Ill., April 28, 1872.

⁷ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 2, 1872; Aug. 1, 1872.

⁸ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 215.

tors.¹ Ministers came to him with their troubles,² and his advice was asked, even on such detailed matters as the preparation of children for confirmation.³ He looked for assistance and help from Erland Carlsson, but Carlsson, as so often before, could not find time to reply to letters.⁴ In 1875 Hasselquist wrote to Carlsson, "Answer, answer, answer."⁵

Hasselquist's leadership, however, was not unquestioned. Gradually another man rivaled his popularity.⁶ This was O. Olsson, whom Hasselquist had induced to come to America, and whom he had directed to Kansas.⁷ However, Olsson lacked Hasselquist's physical strength; he was not as firm in his religious convictions,⁸ and he did not have Hasselquist's determination and leadership. He was characterized, "a man of the minute," for in intense enthusiasm he would insist upon a certain course of action, only to regret the stand he had taken a short time later.⁹ Hasselquist's good health was perhaps his greatest asset; he was very seldom ill,¹⁰ while men like Norelius, Erland Carlsson, and Cederstam suffered a great deal from the results of their hard labor during the pioneer period.¹¹ Having a keen mental alertness, his age was therefore no real hindrance, and throughout his entire life his wisdom and advice were respected.¹² It is true that during his last years the Synod carefully endeavored to lessen his burdens and responsibilities, but when it came to matters of religion and education, his word was decisive and his views were seldom voted down.¹³

If such a period is defined by its difficulties and obstacles, it seems impossible to define or limit the pioneer period of

¹ Hasselquist to S. J. Österberg, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 11, 1871.

² Hasselquist to J. Telleen, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 14, 1871.

³ Hasselquist to O. J. Siljeström, Paxton, Ill., Oct. 21, 1871.

⁴ Hasselquist to J. Johanson, Paxton, Ill., June 14, 1874.

⁵ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., July 14, 1875.

⁶ Swensson, *I Sverige*, p. 147.

⁷ Hasselquist to S. G. Larson, Paxton, Ill., April 21, 1868.

⁸ O. Olsson to Norelius, Lindsborg, Kansas, Feb. 22, 1879.

⁹ Sjöblom to Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., March 26, 1879.

¹⁰ Hasselquist to P. A. Cederstam, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 11, 1871.

¹¹ Hasselquist's correspondence, Vols. II and III.

¹² *Korsbaneret*, 1892, p. 71.

¹³ Interview with Dr. C. W. Foss, Nov. 22, 1929.

the Augustana Synod. It would not be accurate to say that Hasselquist as an executive guided the Augustana Synod into a happier era. After 1870, many obstacles still remained.¹ There was the element of "new evangelism" which had little in common with the spirit of the organization, a group made up primarily of persons dissatisfied with the Synod. Another clique hostile to the Synod was composed of those who frequented the saloons, gambled, and played dice "in true American style."² Some of the Swedes wanted the Synod to be "more Swedish," hoping ultimately to bring it directly under the control of the Swedish State Church, while others were more devoted to "societies of various kinds" than they were to the church.³ These hostile elements increased and were often composed of the better educated people who were radical and very critical.⁴

Many of the better educated class of immigrants found a certain pleasure in ridiculing the clergy of the Augustana Synod, accusing them of revealing by their ignorance that they could not have had more than "a common school education."⁵ No one was more anxious to overcome this criticism than Hasselquist, for he, as well as anyone, realized that there was some truth in the accusations. We have noticed in an earlier chapter that the Swedish leader sent the more promising students to the Seminary at Philadelphia, and that through the gradual development of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, he was able to raise the educational standards of the Synod. This he did in spite of serious difficulties, for many of the congregations were eager to have a minister, whether he was well prepared for his work or not.⁶ It was but natural that the products of Augustana College and Theological Seminary should be like their president and teacher and, therefore, "anti-reformed," "puritanical" in their ideas of church

¹ Beckman, *Amerikanska Studier*, pp. 131-132.

² Stephenson, *The Stormy Years in the Swedish Colony in Chicago before the Great Fire* (Illinois State Historical Society, Transactions, 1929).

³ Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., May 8, 1868.

⁴ *Hemlandet*, March 7, 1883; *Augustana och Missionären*, July 22, 1885.

⁵ Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., March 18, 1878.

⁶ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Oct. 19, 1870. A very interesting article is found in *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, August, 1872.

discipline, and "old-Lutherans."¹ Every minister knew what kind of sermons Hasselquist liked, and the influential editor, J. A. Enander, expressed the hope that no other type would ever be preached within the Augustana Synod.² Hasselquist insisted that the ministers should come to the Augustana synodical conventions prepared to preach, to give at least "one testimony to the truth," a testimony based upon the Bible and the Confessions of the Church.³ He advised against long sermons, recommending that "Amen" should be spoken before it was expected, rather than after it was desired.⁴ Since he was so willing to give advice to ministers,⁵ his counsel was naturally sought by congregations; but in the latter case he preferred to be silent, though compelled to make some answer to the request.⁶

The growth of the Synod undoubtedly would have been more rapid had it not been for Hasselquist's conservatism. His positive stand upon the questions of secret societies, temperance, dances, and the theater must have had a retarding influence,⁷ as it created a hostile Swedish-American press.⁸ He held up a warning signal against all extremes in the use of the Swedish language, as well as in the use of English,⁹ and urged caution in rituals and forms, advising that a middle road between the Catholic Church and the Reformed Church should be followed.¹⁰ When better educational institutions, orphanages, and hospitals testified to the progress of the Synod, Hasselquist warned against pride, indifference, materialism, and worldliness.¹¹ Al-

¹ Framåt, April 16, 1890; Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1879; Hasselquist to Rydholm, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 10, 1870. It is plain that the church discipline of the Augustana Synod modified as many points were ignored. E. A. Fogelström to Hasselquist, Brooklyn, N. Y., Nov. 30, 1878.

² Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Dec. 13, 1874.

³ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, July, 1872.

⁴ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 3, 1871.

⁵ Hasselquist to O. J. Siljeström, Rock Island, Ill., April 5, 1880.

⁶ Augustana och Missionären, April 16, 1884.

⁷ Svenska Tribunen, Dec. 31, 1879.

⁸ Ibid. Jan. 5, 1879.

⁹ Augustana och Missionären, Feb. 18, 1885.

¹⁰ Tidskrift, 1910; Augustana, 1871, No. 1; Augustana och Missionären, June 29, 1881.

¹¹ Augustana och Missionären, Sept. 10, 1884.

though as time went on, proselyting diminished except in a few isolated cases where some denominations were "ruthless" in their endeavors to convert the Lutherans, he always considered himself the defender of the Synod against other denominations.¹

Hasselquist's anxiety to expand the Synod from coast to coast made him resist the plea for ministers presented by the Conferences in the more settled areas. In his opinion, the demands of some of them (particularly the Minnesota Conference) were unreasonable when one considered the necessity of guarding the mission fields.² There were also those who criticized Hasselquist's policy of encouraging pastors to leave their congregations for a short time in order to help in the organization of new congregations. These captious critics desired that no efforts should be made unless "purer doctrinal congregations" could be organized.³ The uppermost thought in Hasselquist's mind was to win the Swedes for the Lutheran Church, and he, therefore, opposed expending the resources of the Synod on costly and perhaps futile experiments such as the Indian Mission, when thousands of his countrymen were without any church connections.⁴ From one point of view, the Augustana Synod was a Missionary Synod, as nearly its entire ministry was engaged in missionary work, made necessary by the increase in immigration, scattered settlements, and the lack of a sufficient number of ministers.⁵ When once a field had been invaded, it was Hasselquist's policy never to give it up, even where opposition was unreasonably severe,⁶ and when the guidance of untrained and poorly educated pastors was in itself a task.⁷

The effect of the great fire in Chicago was acutely felt, not only by the Swedish Lutheran congregation in Chicago, whose church property, valued at \$41,000, was destroyed, but also by the entire Synod, due to the destruction of the

¹ C. A. Wenngren to Hasselquist, Titusville, Pa., Jan. 26, 1876.

² Hasselquist to S. P. A. Lindahl, Paxton, Ill., July 18, 1872.

³ C. O. Lindell to Norelius, Chicago, Ill., March 22, 1879.

⁴ Augustana, 1877, No. 8.

⁵ General Council Convention, Minutes, 1872, p. 39.

⁶ Hasselquist to A. N. Sweders, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 15, 1872.

⁷ Hasselquist to P. Fjellstedt, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 2, 1872.

Swedish Lutheran Publication Society. Hasselquist came to the rescue by admonishing all the Swedes living outside of Chicago to help their brethren in the stricken city, and even sent Erland Carlsson to Sweden to secure assistance.¹ But what was a dire calamity to some proved a blessing to others in that rebuilding created a demand for laborers, thus aiding the problems of unemployment which had existed previous to this event.²

This disaster left no permanent effects upon the growth of the Synod.³ During the convention year, 1871-72, traveling missionaries were sent to Michigan, Kansas, and Iowa. In Nebraska, where thousands of Swedes had settled, only one minister had been employed for the entire state and progress was, therefore, slow. Due to this lack of ministers, colporteurs (lay preachers) were appointed who often traveled extensively in the Mission cause. The unusually large number of clergymen ordained in 1872 did not improve conditions in the mission fields, as these new recruits were absorbed in the various Conferences. When the Synodical Missionary resigned, it was impossible to find anyone to fill the vacancy for the year, 1872-73. Individual ministers continued to make visits to newly-settled regions, but this was done chiefly in the interest of the Conferences, thus strengthening the tendency to make the missionary work a Conference enterprise.⁴ Aroused by this situation, Hasselquist in 1873 toured the East, en route attending the meeting of the General Council at Erie, Pennsylvania, where he reported that the Synod could easily make use of twenty men in this field, if they were only available.⁵

Jonas Swensson, president of the Synod, died in 1873. This temporarily increased the duties of Hasselquist until E. Norelius was elected to the post in 1874.⁶ The death of Swensson was a severe blow to the Synod; an able man

¹ Hemlandet, Jan. 16, 1872.

² Ibid, Jan. 30, 1872; Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 183-184.

³ No attempt will be made to follow the growth of the Augustana Synod in detail as the development of the Church Building Fund, etc., but only matters where Hasselquist's influence is clearly revealed will be discussed.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1872, pp. 42-43, pp. 7, 24.

⁵ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, November, 1877.

⁶ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 218.

had been lost. This loss was all the more keenly felt as in one Conference alone, seven ministers suffered from ill health and had to neglect their work.¹ There was, therefore, no marked growth within the Synod during the year 1873-1874, and many sections of the country had been entirely ignored.² The Synod had appointed S. P. A. Lindahl its missionary for the West, and A. Engdahl for the East, but both of these men declined their appointments. The authority of the Synod had become so lax that when S. J. Osterberg was asked to visit Texas and H. O. Lindeblad was requested to work two months in the East, they did not deign to answer. C. P. Rydholm spent a few months in Colorado, but was obliged to return, as no one could be procured to look after his permanent congregation during his absence. Financial difficulties also hindered this important work of the Synod. It was dependent upon the "free-will" offerings received from Conferences and congregations, and the \$576.96 collected by the Synod for this purpose during that year was contributed by the Illinois Conference alone. From this period the development of the Conferences dates, and the work of the Synod in directing the promotion of new mission fields declined. The only encouraging event in 1873-74 was the arrival of two missionaries sent out by the "Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen," one to be stationed at New York and the other at Boston, and naturally the Synod expected their coöperation.³

But Hasselquist was determined to make his vision of expansion a reality. Again he appealed to Sweden for educated men, as the "half-educated clergymen" of the Augustana Synod were his chief handicap.⁴ He did not, however, secure help from Sweden, and congregations in every direction were calling for ministers.⁵ The Pennsylvania Synod offered to care for the Swedes in Pennsylvania,⁶ but it was

¹ Hemlandet, July 7, 1874.

² J. A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., May 22, 1874.

³ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1874, p. 22.

⁴ Hasselquist to Rev. H. Sieck, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 3, 1874. Hasselquist to Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 11, 1874.

⁵ Hasselquist to Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 5, 1874.

⁶ Ibid, Dec. 29, 1874.

evident that permanent missionaries could not be found for all the older states, if the new settlements were not to be entirely ignored or forgotten. In 1875, Hasselquist wrote, "We can only make visits" to the new fields. N. T. Winquist spent nine months in Colorado, P. Erikson worked for two months in Florida and other southern states, S. P. A. Lindahl remained in Texas and the south for one and a half months, L. A. Hocanzon also spent three and one fourth months in the same region, and J. Auslund was in California for some time. A serious attempt to stimulate an interest in missions was made in *Augustana*, where the experiences of some of these men were told.¹ As a result of these sporadic efforts, two congregations were organized, a permanent missionary was stationed in Colorado, and serious plans were made to continue the work that Auslund had begun in California. Compared with the seasons that had preceded, the success of 1874-75 was so great that the Synod even began to think of Indian and Negro Missions.² The credit for this success must be given to Hasselquist, who had dictated to Norelius, the new president of the Synod, what should be done.³

This progress in the mission work of the Synod was all the more remarkable as it had been made when the country was crippled by financial depression. Many of the members of the Synod had also suffered from losses incurred by the ravages of grasshoppers and of hail storms, and the more prosperous congregations were called upon to aid the less fortunate. But in spite of these conditions, in 1875, thirty-three congregations asked to be admitted into membership in the Synod, among them the Gustavus Adolphus Congregation of New York, which occupied such a strategic position with respect to incoming immigrants.⁴ This growth was far greater than the facilities to care for the needs. Twenty-three congregations in Illinois, thirty-four in Minnesota, nine in Iowa, eight in Kansas, and three in New

¹ Hasselquist to E. N. Jorlander, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 1, 1875.

² Augustana Synod, Protokoll, pp. 17-19.

³ Hasselquist to Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 23, 1874; March 27, 1875.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1875, pp. 11-17.

York were vacant and in need of ministers,¹ and it was only now and then that they received a visit from some minister in the neighborhood.²

The disappointment suffered by Hasselquist in 1875 at the Synodical Convention (which will be discussed later) might temporarily have checked his activities, and naturally, his age was beginning to tell.³ Nevertheless, the cause of missions remained close to his heart,⁴ and his advice and warnings were freely given whenever asked for or found necessary.⁵ The suspension of three pastors decreased the number of workers, but though the Home Mission cause received only \$2,469.60 in 1876, progress was made. Part time workers were maintained in several localities in the South, East and West and the possibilities of an Indian Mission and even expansion into Canada were considered.⁶

Behind the Central Board of Missions stood Hasselquist. He expected it to seek his advice in making appointments, and when it neglected to do so, he sharply criticized it for its unwise selections of men. He believed that in this important matter, he knew the conditions and the men better than anyone else.⁷ Much of his correspondence is illegible, but it certainly was as voluminous as ever, in December, 1877, more than fifty letters being written in twenty-two days.⁸ He directed the students during their vacations, finding suitable charges for them to fill, and after ordination, he still sought to influence their activities, as well as those of the entire Synod, in the face of the continually complaining conferences.⁹ In 1887, when that strange interest that all Europeans have in the American Indian, manifested itself in a proposal of a Synodical "Indian Mission," Hasselquist did not remain silent. Admitting that the conversion of the American Indian was an important

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1875, p. 32.

² General Council Convention, Minutes, 1876, pp. 48-49.

³ See chapter VIII.

⁴ Fr. Lagerman to Hasselquist, Galesburg, Ill., Feb. 2, 1876.

⁵ Augustana, 1876, No. 10.

⁶ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1876, pp. 22-26.

⁷ Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., Aug. 13, 1877.

⁸ Hasselquist to Enander, Rock Island, Ill., Dec. 22, 1877.

⁹ Hasselquist to J. Auslund, Rock Island, Ill., April 19, 1877.

work, he disapproved definitely entering a field, in which success was doubtful, when the possibilities among their own countrymen were so manifest.¹ As it was, he believed that the Augustana Synod was losing much, because it did not expand more rapidly.² Therefore he advocated union instead of division, and emphasized the harvest that could be reaped if the funds to be applied in an expensive Indian mission were used in those sections of the country where Swedes were to be found.³ His only personal quality which retarded the growth of congregations was his animosity toward secret societies of which many of the Swedes in the West were members.⁴

Tired and weary from twenty-five years of arduous work, Hasselquist, who was now being called "the grand old man," struggled along, spreading his influence into all possible channels until his dreams slowly began to materialize.⁵ The Synod gained the reputation of being the most self-sacrificing body within the General Council, and progress was made regardless of hard times that resulted from the successive annual ravages of the grasshoppers.⁶ During these years several churches were built, church debts were being paid, and the schools of the Synod prospered, but in the mission fields neglect was evident. Repeated requests for a minister came from San Francisco, but there was no one who would heed the call, and only \$863.20 was collected for Home Mission work in 1877. On the other hand, interest in the enterprise among the Indians seemed to gain ground.⁷ The following year showed a little more encouragement,⁸ and as the United States government failed to grant the necessary permission to carry out the plans for Indian work,⁹ home missionary activities revived in 1879. Congregations organized in the western states became the

¹ Augustana, 1877, No. 8.

² Hasselquist to Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., Jan. 24, 1879.

³ Ibid, Jan. 31, 1879.

⁴ Fr. Lagerman to Hasselquist, Boulder, Colo., June 16, 1878.

⁵ Hasselquist to S. P. A. Lindahl, Rock Island, Ill., Sept. 9, 1877.

⁶ General Council Convention, Minutes, 1877, p. 51.

⁷ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1877, pp. 6-10; 15-24.

⁸ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1878, p. 18.

⁹ Ibid.

center for missionary activities in the neighborhood and the Fosterlands Stiftelsen financed missions in the East.¹ With the appointment of a permanent worker for the Pacific Coast region in 1880, the coast to coast Synod was becoming a reality.² From the far West with its typical pioneer conditions³ to the immigrant ports in the East, the cause of the Synod was being advanced.⁴ New York was perhaps the most important station, for here there was a chance to advise and guide the immigrant in an attempt to prevent further scattered settlements.⁵ Another almost equally important station was Chicago, which was the distributing point for the central and western parts of the United States. In time Hasselquist's opinion regarding the Indian Mission was generally accepted, although a few sympathizers found it impossible to refrain from complaining because nothing could be done to "stretch forth a saving hand to the poor Indians." More logical was the interest that caused the Synod to focus its attention upon the Swedish Mormons in hope that they might be won back to the Lutheran Church.

In order to secure more workers, Hasselquist continued to send requests for students to Ahlberg's School, Fjellstedt's School and the Mission School in Sweden, although he agreed in principle with Norelius that ministers for America should be secured from among the Swedes already here.⁶ In spite of the development of the educational institutions of the Synod, they were not able to provide a sufficiently large number of ministers, and the colporteur system was still in use.⁷ Therefore, Hasselquist did not consider it advisable to discontinue his connections with Sweden. The situation was clearly revealed in 1882 when figures showed that there were one hundred and forty con-

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1879, pp. 32-41. Hasselquist to Enander, Dec. 27, 1879; Hasselquist to Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., Jan. 1, 1879.

² Augustana och Missionären, May 19, 1880; Aug. 11, 1880.

³ Edward Nelander to Hasselquist, Leadville, Colo., June 28, 1880; C. J. E. Haterius to Hasselquist, Sept. 22, 1880.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1881, pp. 58-62.

⁵ Augustana och Missionären, Jan. 5, 1881. Hasselquist's part in this has been discussed in Chapter I.

⁶ Augustana och Missionären, July 27, 1881.

⁷ General Council Convention, Minutes, 1883, p. 74.

gregations belonging to the Synod which had no pastors,¹ and most of these communities looked upon Hasselquist as the man who was to provide them with clergymen. "We depend upon Uncle," was the expression they used.²

Although some observers felt that it was useless to organize congregations if ministers could not be secured to care for them, in time the older stations were provided. After a wait of seven years, a man was sent to San Francisco; the Mormon Mission also was becoming a realization; and an "English Mission" (an attempt to work among the Americanized Swedes through the coöperation of the General Council) was inaugurated.³ It also seemed as if Hasselquist's plan of directing the Swedish immigrants to Lutheran settlements was being carried out. This was done, not only by the missionary stations, but by tracts such as *Helsningsord*, *Wälkommen*, *Hvar är du hemma?* and *Afskedsord*, pamphlets of which forty thousand copies were printed and distributed by A. P. Ahlberg to the emigrants at Gothenburg, Malmö, and other places in Sweden.⁴ When in 1880, work was begun in Florida,⁵ and activities extended in California, Oregon, Washington, and Maine, the Augustana Synod had stretched itself to the four corners of the United States.⁶ With the development of the Synod, it was impossible for Hasselquist to keep in personal touch with every minister or acquaint himself with every detail of the work. As age crept on, he was relieved of many duties, but his influence was still felt upon all parts of the Synod, especially through the pages of *Augustana och Missionären*. He was still the bulwark of the Synod, showing a lively interest in its missions and denouncing the selfish attitudes of the Conferences that said that "a soul" in Minnesota was as precious as one on the Pacific Coast.⁷

¹ General Council Convention, Minutes, 1883, pp. 110-111.

² C. A. Swensson to Hasselquist, Lindsborg, Kansas, May 16, 1882.

³ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1883, p. 16, pp. 50-51.

⁴ Ibid, pp. 54-55; Svenska Tribunen, Jan. 25, 1884.

⁵ Ibid, 1885, p. 52.

⁶ Ibid, 1887, p. 62.

⁷ Augustana och Missionären, May 4, 25, 1887; June 22, 1887,

During three decades, from 1860 to 1890, under the guidance of Hasselquist, the Synod increased from 17 pastors, 36 congregations, and 3,000 communicants (not including the Norwegians) to 325 pastors, 637 congregations and 84,583 communicant members.¹ *Svenska Kuriren* believed that Hasselquist had created the Augustana Synod, and that only through his influence had it been kept alive. Undoubtedly, this was an exaggeration, but no one had more intensely identified himself with the welfare and the growth of the Synod than this pioneer.² The rapid development of the Synod weakened its powers and increased those of the Conferences, and at the same time sectional and local interests caused wide divisions.³ The Conferences wanted their own colleges, their own hospitals and orphanages, and it was only with difficulty that the Synod was able to preserve its unity.⁴ In politics, the Swedes were Republicans, but in church affairs, they resembled the Democrats, clamoring for "States-rights."⁵ Had it not been for Hasselquist, the unity of the Synod might not have been preserved, and in this aspect, he played as important a role as he had in its extension into new fields.

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll statistics. These correct figures do not correspond fully to the figures given in *Svenskarna i Amerika*, Vol. I, p. 109.

² *Svenska Kuriren*, Feb. 12, 1891.

³ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1889, pp. 14-15.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 22. This was due to the creation of a Central Board of Missions in 1870, which placed the emphasis on the Conference Missions rather than those of the Synod. Protokoll, 1871, pp. 14-15.

⁵ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1888, pp. 22-23.

CHAPTER VIII

INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF THE AUGUSTANA SYNOD,

1870-1890

The problems of unity that confronted the Augustana Synod were at one time called, "The Mystery of the Augustana Synod."¹ The origin of these problems may be traced to the formative period, specifically to 1854, when the Scandinavian Conferences recommended the establishment of parochial schools.² This recommendation, as well as the fact that the Swedish settlements in Minnesota were separated by hundreds of miles from the settlements in Illinois, induced Rev. E. Norelius to plan the establishment of an Academy at White Rock, Minnesota.³ In time, his plans had expanded to include a Swedish Lutheran Synod or, if this failed, a Minnesota Synod in conjunction with other Lutherans in the state. In an earlier chapter the methods by which Hasselquist frustrated these plans have been described. But the germ of dissatisfaction with Hasselquist had been planted in the Minnesota Conference. He had checked the plans of 1856-58, the school, the Synod, and even caused the merger of Norelius' newspaper with his *Hemlandet, Det Gamla och Det Nya*. The members of the Minnesota Conference began to feel that everything they did would be the object of mistrust.⁴ Undoubtedly, Hasselquist was severe at times in his criticism,⁵ but he only strove to preserve unity among the Swedish Lutherans, a cause for which he was willing, if necessary, to sacrifice his own views, as was illustrated when in 1860 he gave Esbjorn his support in order to prevent a division in the Swedish Lutheran Church.⁶

¹ P. A. Cederstam to E. Norelius, Wannersburgh, Kans., July 17, 1884.

² Swedish Historical Society of America, Year Book, 1922-23, p. 49.

³ The Missionary, Oct. 9, 1856.

⁴ P. A. Cederstam to Hasselquist, St. Paul, Minn., July 8, 1858.

⁵ Ibid, St. Peter, Minn., Nov. 22, 1859.

⁶ Hasselquist to S. W. Harkey, Galesburg, Ill., April 9, 1860.

These feelings of dissatisfaction were intensified when Hasselquist, in spite of a strong opposition, moved the Augustana Seminary from Chicago to Paxton, Illinois. This location was considered too distant from the Minnesota Conference to serve the best interests of that group.¹ It is also likely that Norelius noticed that Hasselquist acted more or less arbitrarily and therefore became dissatisfied with the role he and Esbjorn had to play in the affairs of the Synod. At any rate, in 1862, he again set out to plan the establishment of a school in Minnesota. Secrecy was necessary and it was important that nothing should reach the public, before he was confident of success.² Hasselquist had tried in every way to gain the confidence of Norelius,³ but Norelius continued to confide in Esbjorn. In spite of the secrecy, Erland Carlsson discovered the activities and wondered why Norelius had lost faith "in his old friend." This may have been a move of diplomacy on the part of Carlsson in order that he might find out more about the plans. If this were diplomacy, Hasselquist was not diplomatic, for as soon as he received the information, he fiercely denounced Norelius⁴ and his schemes. He sought to prove to Norelius that the establishment of an Academy by the Minnesota Conference was a financial impossibility, and that if news reached Sweden that the Augustana Synod could afford to support two schools, no further assistance could be expected from that source. Hasselquist urged that the Augustana Seminary should be given a chance to develop and only after that institution had been firmly established upon a sound financial basis, should plans be made for other schools.⁵

The soundness of this argument could not be challenged by Norelius. He immediately attempted to prove that he was innocent, that he had not been present at the Minnesota Conference, when the decision to found an Academy had been reached, and that his plans had not gone beyond

¹ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 141.

² H. G. Esping to E. Norelius, Geneva, Ill., Dec. 12, 1862.

³ Norelius to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., Oct. 6, 1863.

⁴ Erland Carlsson to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 26, 1862.

⁵ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., April 2, 1863.

the establishment of three parochial schools in Minnesota. However, he warned Hasselquist not to interfere with the affairs of the Conference, as it was determined to have its own way.¹ Hasselquist probably heeded the warning, and thus by secrecy and the appearance of a firm determination when the project was revealed, the Minnesota Conference practically forced Erland Carlsson and Hasselquist to consent to the establishment of the Academy, but with the proviso that the school should be placed under the supervision of the Synod.² Thus Hasselquist had not been completely defeated in this first struggle between the Minnesota Conference and the Synod, although the Conference had clearly gained the edge of the victory.³

Norelius, encouraged by this success, set out with J. Engberg to gain control of the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society. This was an attempt, so to speak, to secure "the heart of Hasselquist," as he had founded and nursed the organization and regarded it the most vital spot of the Synod. It was by secrecy that Norelius had carried the school question, and the same method was now employed.⁴ The carefully laid plans, however, met unexpected opposition. Rev. A. Andreen informed Hasselquist of Norelius' new plans. The affair developed into a test of shrewdness in which "every one smiled and appeared friendly."⁵ Greatly disturbed, Hasselquist made a special trip to Minnesota to confer with Norelius and this time he was successful, returning victorious and happy.⁶ He had, by summary action, brought the conspiracy to naught.⁷

The Conferences were bound so loosely together in the Synod that the cord, which united them, might have snapped at any time. Shrewdness and diplomacy were necessary on the part of Hasselquist. He, therefore, began to show a great interest in the Academy at Carver, Minnesota. He urged Norelius to work for this institution, as he feared it

¹ E. Norelius to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., April 7, 1863.

² Erland Carlsson to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., May 28, 1863.

³ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1864.

⁴ J. Engberg to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., April 7, 1864.

⁵ Ibid, July 31, 1865.

⁶ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., July 28, 1865.

⁷ J. Engberg to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., July 31, 1865.

was becoming an ordinary parochial school, a purpose for which it had never been organized.¹ He was anxious to be in steady communication with Norelius, who became "My beloved brother Norelius."² In his determination to preserve the unity of the Synod, he never openly expressed his displeasure, fearing publicity and dissension, neither did he permit anyone who knew his views to make them public.³ He tried, however, as much as possible, to strengthen the powers of the Synod by insisting upon obedience to its laws.⁴ But the specter of disunion was always real to him.⁵ He was unable to meet the demand for ministers in Minnesota, and this caused the Conference to complain,⁶ the general unrest in the Minnesota Conference expressing itself by an open hostility to *Hemlandet*, *Det Gamla och Det Nya*.⁷

Norelius, also, undertook new exploits in planning to publish a religious paper. Hasselquist, who believed that such a move might lead to serious results and retard the growth of his own paper, *Augustana*, tried to encourage Norelius to limit his publishing instinct to a mere tract.⁸ But he soon noticed that Norelius' plans could not be diverted,⁹ and finally he consented to them upon the condition that Norelius' paper should deal only with the "foreign" missions, thus avoiding competition with *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*. He also suggested the title, *Missionären*, for the new journal.¹⁰ But when Norelius was ready with his first product, he discovered that Erland Carlsson had stolen a march upon him and that *Missionären* had already been published by the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society, which was a Synodical institution. The unity of the Synod had apparently been strengthened instead of weakened.¹¹ It is doubtful if Hasselquist was entirely innocent

¹ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 8, 1865.

² Ibid, Oct. 25, 1867.

³ Hasselquist to S. G. Larson, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 12, 1867.

⁴ *Augustana*, October, 1868.

⁵ Hasselquist to Dr. A. W. Passavant, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 26, 1869.

⁶ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 15, 1867.

⁷ E. Norelius to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., Oct. 29, 1869.

⁸ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., April 3, 1869.

⁹ Ibid, Jan. 11, 1870.

¹⁰ Ibid, Jan. 25, 1870.

¹¹ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 10, 1870.

in the affair, and it seems very probable that Carlsson had acted on the orders of Hasselquist, for when Norelius accused Hasselquist of having "played a trick," Hasselquist only answered, "Brother, these words of yours would have caused me sorrow, if I had not known you."¹

During a decade as the President of the Synod, Hasselquist had apparently strengthened its unity. There was a College and Seminary, owned and controlled by the Synod; there was a Swedish Lutheran Publication Society and an Orphans' Home; not to mention *Augustana*, which was owned by the Synod and worked in its interests. Even the Academy of the Minnesota Conference made annual reports to the Synod and in 1870 a Central Board of Missions was created.² But it soon became evident that the results of Hasselquist's policy were not altogether wholesome, and that unity could only be preserved as long as he was able to wield his influence. His policy did not remove the unrest and dissatisfaction and the feeling of separation, noticed in the Minnesota Conference, voiced a protest against the Central Board of Missions, claiming it was "a Synod within the Synod."³ The Conference protested against Hasselquist's visit to Sweden⁴ and objected to "being treated like children."⁵ The lack of ministers had caused the Conference to advocate a more extensive use of colporteurs, but this Hasselquist opposed.⁶ Some members of this Conference were inclined toward "New Evangelism" and the dreaded teachings of P. Waldenström, which Hasselquist denounced as a heresy.⁷ It is but natural, therefore, that Hasselquist's continual praise of "Bishop's visitations" became more and more objectionable.⁸ Local interests in educational questions, as well as a desire to have a Conference paper, increased the difficulties involved in holding the Synod together.

¹ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 12, 1870.

² *Augustana Synod, Protokoll*, 1870, p. 26.

³ P. Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., July 14, 1870.

⁴ *Ibid*, March 12, 1870.

⁵ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., Jan. 11, 1873.

⁶ P. Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., Nov. 6, 1871.

⁷ J. Auslund to Hasselquist, St. Paul, Minn., April 8, 1876.

⁸ *Ibid*, Aug. 21, 1876.

In the face of these tendencies, it seemed hardly possible that the unity of the Synod could be preserved. Although no longer president, Hasselquist continued to advocate the policy of centralization. In his mind, the interests of the Synod were far more important than those of the Conferences.¹ But such a policy was an open threat to the powerful Minnesota Conference, and in 1871, that organization petitioned the Synod for permission to handle its own mission field, independent of the Synod, only making annual reports to the same regarding its progress. It requested that *Missionären* be made into a Conference paper, and raised the question whether or not the time was ripe for the organization of a district Synod in Minnesota. The Synod, while granting the request of the first petition, resolved that it did not consider it advisable to organize a Minnesota Synod.² Accordingly, the Conference was compelled to abide by this decision, as it "lacked able leaders."³ Hasselquist's opponents had, however, won a victory; the loosely organized Synod became even less powerful, and the missions of the Synod became more and more a matter of the Conferences.⁴ At the annual meeting in 1872, Hasselquist and Norelius, as a committee of the Synod, suggested certain changes in the constitution, which were distinctly reactionary, and would have strengthened the powers of the Synod. But Hasselquist had to acknowledge defeat, when the decision was reached that "the Conferences should care for their own interests."⁵

This did not mean that Hasselquist and the party supporting him had been crippled permanently. But a period of struggle ensued, which along with other developments expressed itself in repeated attempts to change the constitution. At one time the anticentralization party won and at another, the centralization party was victorious. The latter group was pro-Hasselquist and urged that the president of the Synod be not only president in name but in

¹ Hasselquist to J. Auslund, Rock Island, Ill., April 13, 1876.

² Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1871, p. 34.

³ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., May 24, 1871.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1872, p. 43.

⁵ Ibid, pp. 40-41.

reality, and that he should extend the powers of the Synod over the Conferences. Hasselquist regarded all attempts to weaken the authority of the Synod as synonymous with separation, concerning which he often said, "I will never work for separation, the evil of the times."¹

The anti-Hasselquist Party, on the other hand, considered Hasselquist's attempts to strengthen the powers of the president as leading to the establishment of a bishop, and, therefore, favored a weak central government and the organization of the Conferences into District Synods.² Hasselquist, however, showed that he was willing to compromise, but in such a fashion that he would be the gainer. His plans and ideas of expansion and his program of a coast to coast organization made it necessary that more power be vested in the Synod,³ and if the anticentralization party insisted on the organization of District Synods, he was willing to accept their plans, but only under the condition that the General Synod, into which these District Synods should be organized, be given sufficient power over the member groups. In case these terms were not accepted, he warned that he would oppose any attempt to organize District Synods, a step which he regarded as a move toward complete separation.⁴ The anticentralization party had, however, up to 1873, really never constituted a very serious threat, and Hasselquist's supremacy, in spite of a few reverses, had been a fact. But he had relied upon his own powers, and Swensson warned him against overconfidence, picturing the future of the Synod in dark colors.⁵ Shortly after the death of Swensson, who had faithfully served him, Hasselquist discovered that the members of the Synod, especially the younger ministers, were not so willing to be ruled.⁶ At the Synodical Convention in 1874, he sensed this spirit and wrote of it: "But again, such a spirit, which has

¹ T. N. Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., Feb. 17, 1880.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid, March 22, 1879; Sjöblom to Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., March 26, 1879.

⁴ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, July, 1873.

⁵ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 20, 1873; Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 1, 1873.

⁶ Hasselquist to J. Auslund, Paxton, Ill., May 8, 1875; Hasselquist to P. Sjöblom, Paxton, Ill., April 5, 1871.

been evident among us for a time, cannot but destroy us, if it is permitted to continue.”¹

Hasselquist had serious reasons for this lamenting, in spite of the fact that he had once more, through diplomacy, dealt a blow to the anticeutralization party. The Minnesota Conference showed its discontent, when it was refused to adopt *Missionären* as a Conference paper, by publishing a new periodical, entitled, *Luthersk Kyrkotidning*.² Fearing that it would replace *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana* in Minnesota,³ and failing to direct the Conference's activities in other directions,⁴ Hasselquist set out to make *Luthersk Kyrkotidning* unnecessary by discussing the same subjects that it dealt with in *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*.⁵ Hasselquist also urged Jonas Swensson, as the president of the Synod, to warn Norelius that *Luthersk Kyrkotidning* might lead to separation. Swensson faithfully and vigorously presented the views of Hasselquist to Norelius.⁶ This was done so effectively that Norelius was won over and he began to favor a merger of *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana* with *Luthersk Kyrkotidning*. But Rev. P. Sjöblom, an influential member of the Minnesota Conference, was not willing to approve of such a merger, claiming that “the stolen goods” should first be returned to the Minnesota Conference, namely, *Missionären*.⁷

To make matters worse, Rev. O. Olsson had started a religious paper in Kansas, called *Nytt och Gammalt*. Hasselquist was displeased and sarcastically remarked that he could now discontinue his work, as *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana* was no longer needed.⁸ He wrote to O. Olsson that he could not understand how he could find the time to edit a paper, when the whole state of Kansas was the field of his mission work. He proposed to make Olsson coeditor of *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, if he discontinued *Nytt*

¹ J. Auslund to Hasselquist, St. Paul, Minn., Aug. 18, 1874.

² P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., Jan. 11, 1872.

³ Ibid, Feb. 25, 1872.

⁴ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., April 12, 1872.

⁵ P. Sjöblom to J. Auslund, Red Wing, Minn., March 18, 1872.

⁶ J. Swensson to Norelius, Andover, Ill., Feb. 28 and April 29, 1873.

⁷ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn. (no date).

⁸ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 27, 1873.

och Gammalt, stating, "I am left all alone to spoil *Augustana* as I please. I feel we are dividing our strength."¹ But, undoubtedly, believing that he might win Olsson as he had won Norelius, he again resorted to the help of Swensson, who wrote to the editor of *Nytt och Gammalt* and severely criticized his actions.² The preparatory plans having been laid, Hasselquist tried, by praise, to make certain that Norelius would be on his side. He wrote to him, "It hurts me if some one or some have written hard words to you about your plans; I have always desired unity and coöperation, so that something could be well done somewhere and our strength not scattered; but I have also always admitted the sincerity in your effort, even the necessity of it. You have been along nearly from the beginning and cannot but live for unity (of the Synod), but it might be otherwise with others who have recently entered the work."³ Norelius probably was pleased, and when Hasselquist, a little later, told him that *Augustana* and *Luthersk Kyrkotidning* "were eating up one another,"⁴ he secured Sjöblom's acquiescence in discontinuing *Luthersk Kyrkotidning* and a merger of the three religious papers of the Synod.⁵ Olsson at first objected to this move, feeling that the policy of Hasselquist had been harsh, but Hasselquist was finally able completely to persuade him, and Olsson promised that he would never start a rival paper. Thus the proposed merger took place.⁶

This score won by the leader of the Centralization Party was evened by the establishment of Gustavus Adolphus College in Minnesota. The Minnesota Conference felt itself justified in the founding of this college as a protest against locating Augustana College and Seminary at Rock Island, Illinois, which was considered too far from Minnesota.⁷ Hasselquist had shown a great deal of interest in

¹ Hasselquist to O. Olsson, Paxton, Ill., May 3, 1873.

² Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., May 8, 1873.

³ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., June 4, 1873.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1873.

⁵ P. Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., Nov. 6, 1873.

⁶ O. Olsson to Hasselquist, Dec. 11, 1873.

⁷ P. Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., March 16, 1873. According to certain beliefs the Minnesota Conference was responsible for the location of the

the Academy of the Conference, but when plans were made to make that institution a college, which he considered but a step toward a new Seminary, and thus a step toward separation, his lack of cautiousness in his great anxiety was perhaps the cause for his failure in preventing this move.¹

For the first time, Hasselquist realized the strength of his opponents. He became more and more displeased with the spirit manifested within the Synod, claiming that "the wills are many" and that its Christianity was closely related to the heresy of Waldenström.² Separatism ran high. In 1875, it was agreed that the Synod vote on the question of dividing into District Synods, a policy which Hasselquist considered "a two edged sword which would cut us to pieces."³ The threatening storm that had been brewing since the Synodical Convention in 1874, when a few candidates for the ministry had been ordained contrary to Hasselquist's will, approached.⁴ At that same meeting the Minnesota Conference had mustered its strength to secure the election of Norelius to the Presidency over Erland Carlsson, a strong pro-centralization advocate. Having been successful in this endeavor, the Conference moved rapidly toward the District Synod plan.⁵

As had been expected, as President of the Synod, Norelius showed an unwillingness to silence the opposition to Hasselquist, and at the Synodical Convention in 1875 a great struggle took place, which is not recorded in the Minutes, but in which the supremacy of Hasselquist seemed to have been effectively challenged.⁶ This was the famous "Robber Synod," so christened by Hasselquist, because it proposed to divide the school property of the Synod among the Conferences, in order that they might be able to estab-

Augustana College and Theological Seminary at Rock Island, Ill., and had threatened to separate or establish a Seminary in Minnesota if the Synodical institution was not moved from Paxton to Rock Island. The letter referred to above, however, shows that this could hardly have been possible.

¹ Hasselquist to Rev. A. Jackson, Paxton, Ill., April 8, 1874; Hasselquist to Rev. C. P. Rydholm, Paxton, Ill., April 8, 1874.

² Hasselquist to Rev. J. Auslund, Paxton, Ill., May 8, 1875.

³ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Moline, Ill., Feb. 24, 1875.

⁴ Hasselquist to J. Auslund, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 14, 1874.

⁵ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., June 9, 1874.

⁶ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 230-234.

lish Conference schools.¹ Although Hasselquist brought this attempt to naught, he was unable to prevent the adoption for a year of an experimental Constitution, providing for the proposed division of the Synod.² The Synod went so far in its attack upon the authority of Hasselquist that it sided with a number of students who had complained about a certain instructor at Augustana College and Seminary, and disciplined the instructor in spite of Hasselquist's firm opposition.³

This marked opposition was the natural result of Hasselquist's relentless policy of strengthening the unity of the Synod. But it did not crush him. He merely changed his tactics. Instead of acting himself, he let others act, constantly warning "against the burning questions and burning spirits within the Synod."⁴ The opposition pictured him as "dizzy-headed,"⁵ when he lamented the state of affairs. Unable to discard the cloak of diplomacy, he stated, to the great alarm of his supporters, that he was ready to discontinue the struggle and that the Synodical Conventions had become of such a nature that he did not care to attend them.⁶ This caused his friends to rally around him, and the evident sorrow that he experienced over the Convention of 1875 led a number of those who had sided against him, to regret the stand they had taken.⁷ The fruit of this policy of seeming indifference was reaped in 1876, and Hasselquist again became supreme. The objectionable constitution was voted down, 94 to 6.⁸ The instructor disciplined in 1875 was exonerated and all accusations against him were declared without foundation.⁹ The Centralization Party, perhaps a little overconfident because of this success, even proposed that the Synod should have only one College, but discovered in time that its new supporters did not favor such a drastic step. However, the Synod did recommend

¹ Augustana och Missionären, Sept. 1, 1886.

² Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1875, pp. 16-17.

³ Norelius, *op cit.*

⁴ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., Feb. 26, 1876.

⁵ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., May 28, 1876.

⁶ Rev. Winquist to Hasselquist, Paxton, Ill., May 22, 1876.

⁷ J. Auslund to Hasselquist, St. Paul, Minn., April 10, 1876.

⁸ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1876, p. 44.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 39.

that Gustavus Adolphus College should be, primarily, an institution for the training of teachers, and advised the Kansas Conference, which was planning to establish a Normal School, against the project.¹

Hasselquist had been successful in his new policy and had won a great deal of sympathy. But he did not feel secure and, therefore, cautioned his friends that the question of District Synods had not been settled.² He pictured himself as an old man who had served the Synod for 25 years, as a man who had been the target of attacks for years and who was overburdened by his many duties as president of the college and as editor of *Augustana*, a man who was compelled to have a wide correspondence, stating that during one month he wrote 99 letters. This naturally was an effective way of gaining sympathy,³ and his friends were further informed that the first step toward separation and the adoption of new doctrines would be, in effect, the removal of Hasselquist.⁴ This policy evidently shows the traces of age and a deep-rooted suspicion, but seems to have been sufficiently effective to win even Norelius, although he feared that Hasselquist's policy might lead to bureaucracy.⁵

As preparations for the Synodical Convention in 1877 were made, Norelius was placed in a dilemma. He did not wish to break completely with his old associates led by Rev. P. Sjöblom, who were returning to the fray and planning for "a hot Synodical Convention."⁶ Sjöblom might have feared that Norelius was no longer whole-heartedly in sympathy with him and jokingly called him "fox."⁷ The position of Norelius, however, became more acute, when Sjöblom planned to start a religious paper,⁸ and when he tried to persuade Norelius to become its editor.⁹ This was a serious matter. On two previous occasions such an attempt

¹ *Augustana Synod*, Protokoll, p. 14.

² *Augustana*, 1876, No. 8.

³ Hasselquist to J. Auslund, Rock Island, Ill., Aug. 22, 1877.

⁴ *Augustana*, 1876, No. 8.

⁵ E. Norelius to Hasselquist, Vasa, Minn., Feb. 29, 1876.

⁶ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., Sept. 6, 1876.

⁷ *Ibid*, Sept. 15, 1876.

⁸ *Ibid*, Dec. 6, 1876.

⁹ P. Sjöblom to J. Auslund, Red Wing, Minn., Dec. 14, 1876.

had been made but had failed, due to the opposition of Hasselquist. Norelius, therefore, realizing that it might cause a break between him and Hasselquist, wrote to the latter that he had tried to prevent the undertaking but when he failed, he accepted the editorship in order that someone who might counteract the influence of Hasselquist could not become the editor. He promised that he would work in behalf of unity.¹ The attention of Sjöblom had been so concentrated on the matter of a Conference paper that he forgot his earlier expressed threat to make the Convention of 1877 "hot," and when the question of separation from the Synod was discussed by the leading separatists in the Minnesota Conference, Sjöblom claimed that the time was not ripe.²

The proposed Conference paper finally was published in December, 1878, under the title, *Evangelisk Luthersk Tidsskrift*.³ Norelius' connection with the paper became more and more unpleasant. Sjöblom did not hesitate to dictate to him, and gradually Norelius became editor in name only,⁴ Sjöblom jokingly stating that he was like "a fish that could not swim,"⁵ because he was an editor who did not write. Hasselquist might have sought to gain Sjöblom's confidence, but soon discovered that this was futile and he then laid aside, for the moment, the policy of seeming indifference adopted in 1875, and openly denounced Sjöblom and a few others for harboring separatistic plans.⁶ Circumstances also aided him. The Minnesota Conference upon the recommendation of Norelius passed "Resolutions on the Catechism," which Sjöblom opposed. These resolutions were considered objectionable, but the blame was placed on the shoulders of Sjöblom, who became a target of attack at the Synodical Convention in 1879, as Norelius refused to take the blame upon himself and remained silent on the question.⁷ Sjöblom was discredited and the Centralization Party main-

¹ E. Norelius to Hasselquist, Vasa, Minn., Dec. 13, 1877.

² P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., April 7, 1877.

³ Ibid, Nov. 4, 1878.

⁴ Ibid, Aug. 29, 1879.

⁵ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., Sept. 2, 1879.

⁶ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., Feb. 1 and Sept. 5, 1879.

⁷ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., Oct. 24, 1879.

tained a comfortable majority, making any radical changes in the Constitution impossible.¹

But Sjöblom was seemingly not satisfied with accepting defeat, and probably sought to obtain revenge for the humiliation suffered in 1879. He forgot that he had been the man who had compelled the Synod to sell *Hemlandet, Det Gamla och Det Nya* in 1872, because he had considered it improper that a religious body should own and control a political paper.² He now changed the Conference organ from a purely religious paper to one of semi-political nature, calling it *Skaffaren*.³ Hasselquist considered this a violation of the contract providing for the sale of *Hemlandet*, in which the Synod had promised never to edit another political newspaper. Therefore, he advised Norelius not to take part in the enterprise, but Norelius again believed that if he joined Sjöblom he might save the Synod, which he later claimed he had done.⁴ This provoked a strife between *Hemlandet, Det Gamla och Det Nya* and *Skaffaren*, and the owners of the former might have sued the Synod for breach of contract, if it had not been for the friendly relationship existing between Hasselquist and John A. Enander, the editor and part owner of *Hemlandet*.⁵ Norelius also tried to show Hasselquist that he was worthy of his confidence, not only by urging him to insist upon unity in *Augustana*,⁶ but by acting as a check upon Sjöblom.⁷ The strife, therefore, between the two papers in 1880 did not develop to serious dimensions,⁸ and did not reflect on the activities of the Synod. Sjöblom had gained nothing, and as Norelius compelled Sjöblom to promise that he would not revive the discussion at the Synodical Convention in 1881, the gathering was marked by peace and the Centralization Party succeeded in electing Erland Carlsson as President of the Synod.⁹

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1880.

² Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., Sept. 12, 1879.

³ A. P. Montén to E. Norelius, St. Paul, Minn., Dec. 19, 1879.

⁴ E. Norelius to Hasselquist, Vasa, Minn., Oct. 2, 1880.

⁵ Ibid, and Erland Carlsson to Norelius, Andover, Ill., Jan. 12, 1880.

⁶ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., Sept. 18, 1880.

⁷ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., Oct. 29, 1880.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., June 5, 1881; Augustana Synod, Protokoll, p. 41; Augustana och Missionären, July 27, 1881.

It is impossible to determine to what extent Norelius had checked Sjöblom, but it is evident that the anti-Centralization Party suffered when Norelius withdrew his wholehearted support.¹ Hasselquist's continual vigilance in guarding Norelius and in complimenting him on his ability as President of the Synod were effective, saying, for instance, that such a capable man as Norelius "ought always to be the servant of all."² Hasselquist, therefore, consoled himself with the thought that if Sjöblom were successful in separating the Minnesota Conference from the Synod, this new Synod would soon be divided into two parts, as the break between Norelius and Sjöblom would be complete.³ This, undoubtedly, was an important factor, but Sjöblom had also been handicapped by troubles of his own. A new editor of *Skaffaren* had been selected, but this editor acted independently.⁴ Sjöblom also had to clear his honor against attacks on his character made by *Advance*, a paper published at Red Wing, Minnesota.⁵ But after the Synodical Convention in 1881, he was busily engaged for some time in disposing of these matters,⁶ and at the end of the year was again ready to follow the war path. Evidently he attributed at least a part of the humiliation suffered at the Synodical Convention in 1879 to the influence of John A. Enander, because he set out to renew the newspaper war between *Skaffaren* and *Hemlandet*. This time he was determined not to end the struggle until it had resulted in the fall of either Enander or himself.⁷ He also believed that Enander had the confidence of "the mighty" (undoubtedly meaning Hasselquist), and upon renewing the combat he freed Norelius from all responsibilities.⁸ Norelius, who realized that if Sjöblom were to fight and die like Charles XII, as he had stated, this newspaper feud might threaten the unity of the Synod, therefore attempted to purchase

¹ P. A. Cederstam to Hasselquist, Cokato, Minn., March 20, 1882.

² Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., March 22, 1879.

³ Ibid, Sept. 18, 1880.

⁴ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., Jan. 31, 1881.

⁵ Ibid, March 26, 1881.

⁶ Ibid, Aug. 13, 1881.

⁷ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., Dec. 8, 1881.

⁸ Ibid.

Sjöblom's share in *Skaffaren*, but failed.¹ Rev. O. Olsson also tried to interfere, but Sjöblom believed that he was being prompted by Hasselquist and refused to listen.²

By means of an article in *Skaffaren* attacking *Hemlandet*, Sjöblom threw a bomb into the Synod. His usually sharp pen was more pointed than ever.³ Rev. P. A. Cederstam, who had formerly been in sympathy with Sjöblom but who had become frightened at the course of events, wrote to Hasselquist declaring that to defend Enander would be an unwise step as it would lead Sjöblom to separate from the Synod.⁴ This was probably what Sjöblom had expected, as when he was preparing to renew the war against *Hemlandet*, he had laid elaborate plans for separation, even appointing a committee composed of members of the Minnesota Conference to correspond with members of other Conferences in an attempt to win their approval.⁵ The friends of Hasselquist had become thoroughly disgusted with the Minnesota Conference and were willing to grant this Conference its freedom by absenting themselves from the Synodical Convention in 1882. Hasselquist, however, regarded it as his duty to be present.⁶ He had carefully heeded the warning given him by Cederstam and had not taken any part in the newspaper controversy, but he also realized that the contest must come to a close. He, therefore, appealed to Sjöblom as "a man of peace" to put an end to the war. The latter in spite of the fact that he believed that Hasselquist's "spectacles" had been "colored" in Chicago, promised that he would visit Rock Island and talk matters over.⁷

As Sjöblom was willing to come to terms, the conference held between the two men was successful. He changed his whole attitude and in every way tried to convince Hasselquist that he was a different man.⁸ But there was also another reason for his change of heart. The newspaper war

¹ E. Norelius to P. A. Cederstam, Vasa, Minn., Dec. 16, 1881.

² P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., Dec. 22, 1881.

³ P. A. Cederstam to E. Norelius, Cokato, Minn., Dec. 12, 1881.

⁴ P. A. Cederstam to Hasselquist, Cokato, Minn., April 3, 1882.

⁵ P. A. Cederstam to E. Norelius, Cokato, Minn., April 4, 1882.

⁶ Hasselquist to P. A. Cederstam, Rock Island, Ill., March 16, 1882.

⁷ P. Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., March 29, 1882.

⁸ Ibid, Nov. 13, 1882.

had created bitter feelings. Sjöblom had entered upon the struggle too confident in his own strength and a number of ministers in the Minnesota Conference who had favored the organization of a Minnesota Synod withdrew their support, being unwilling to leave the Synod in an atmosphere of bitter feelings.¹ The withdrawal of the support of these ministers was keenly felt by Sjöblom. His name was still associated with rumors of separation, such as the establishment of a Seminary in Minnesota,² but he was no longer the proud Sjöblom, who from time to time had challenged Hasselquist. In fact, he now became very anxious to win his favor.³

The crisis of 1881-82 that had shaken the very foundations of the Synod had now come to an end. Hasselquist's position as the leader in the Synod had not been injured, but the participants in the struggle suffered. Sjöblom had fallen into disrepute in his own Conference, which no longer cared whether *Skaffaren* died or lived, while all the partisans of the Synod had more implicit faith in *Augustana*.⁴ Peace having been won, Hasselquist urged that peace should be maintained.⁵ It was very evident that he had some faithful friends in the Minnesota Conference, who were unwilling to do anything that they knew might displease him.⁶ When, therefore, a little later Rev. L. G. Almén became the editor of *Skaffaren*, a man of whom Hasselquist, approved, it was but natural that peace would be maintained, although from time to time *Skaffaren* and *Hemlandet* were engaged in minor skirmishes which, however, never threatened the unity of the Synod.⁷ Sjöblom undoubtedly realized that Hasselquist was stronger than even he was in his own Conference, and, therefore, it is not surprising that he adopted a very friendly attitude toward Hasselquist and sought to spare him as much as possible from work and worries.⁸

¹ P. A. Cederstam to E. Norelius, Cokato, Minn., Dec. 12, 1881.

² Erland Carlsson to E. Norelius, Andover, Ill., Oct. 5, 1882.

³ P. Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., May 12, 1883.

⁴ S. A. Lindholm to Hasselquist, Lake City, Minn., Aug. 4, 1883.

⁵ Hasselquist to G. L. Almén, Rock Island, Ill., Aug. 11, 1883.

⁶ S. A. Linholm to Hasselquist, Lake City, Minn., Feb. 12, 22, 1883.

⁷ L. G. Almén to Hasselquist, New London, Minn., March 7, 1884.

⁸ P. Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., May 12, 17, 1883, June 17, 1883, Jan. 25, 1884.

Sjöblom may have been perfectly honest in his friendship for Hasselquist, but it was a desirable thing to cultivate, as an opposition to him, led by Norelius, was gaining strength in Minnesota.¹ This opposition had already revealed its power.² Although Sjöblom tried to fortify his position, circumstances favored the opposition. One of the staunch supporters of Sjöblom had been involved in a scandal, being charged with fraudulently deceiving a brother whose guardian he had been and with causing a shortage in the treasury of the Conference.³ This was a blow to Sjöblom, and the opposition jubilantly claimed that "the masks had been taken off." But Sjöblom was still able to muster sufficient help to prevent the Conference from punishing the accused one.⁴ Norelius, however, was determined to enforce discipline and in 1885 the case was once more brought before the Conference. Again he failed.⁵ Norelius had been very frank in his accusations, and Sjöblom made the most of the failure, summoning Norelius before the Conference to defend himself and prove the accusations he had hurled. Under these conditions, Norelius found it best to absent himself.⁶ His health was broken and probably crushed by this blow, so he set out for the Pacific Coast to rest for a few months.⁷ Sjöblom thought that once more he was supreme in the Minnesota Conference and he again resorted to his old policy. But he had neglected to take into account that while he and Norelius had struggled for supremacy in the Conference, Hasselquist had strengthened his position in Minnesota by a policy of noninterference in the struggle. *Augustana* had entrenched itself into the hearts of many⁸ and to further the good feelings toward the Synod, he took pains to be present at the Commencement at Gustavus Adolphus College in 1885.⁹

¹ J. O. Cavallin to E. Norelius, Moorhead, Minn., May 4, 1883.

² S. A. Lindholm to E. Norelius, Lindsborg, Kans., March 5, 1884.

³ Ibid, Aug. 23, 1884; H. Stockenström vs. P. Montén (Norelius Collection).

⁴ S. A. Lindholm to E. Norelius, Lindsborg, Kans., Dec. 27, 1884.

⁵ H. Stockenström to E. Norelius, St. Paul, Minn., June 6, 1885.

⁶ E. Norelius to Rev. J. Fremling, Vasa, Minn., Sept. 18, 1885.

⁷ C. J. Carlson to E. Norelius, East Union, Minn., Aug. 2, 1885; E. Norelius to Dr. Passavant, Vasa, Minn., Sept. 15, 1885.

⁸ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., March 21, 1885.

⁹ Ibid, May 1, 1885.

In a report to the Conference as its president, Sjöblom attacked *Augustana* and *Hemlandet*, because he believed that these two papers had been unjust to *Skaffaren*. This was reopening old wounds, and Sjöblom had gained so much strength that if he had limited his attacks to the political journal, *Hemlandet*, he would again have been acclaimed the hero of the Conference. But he also included Hasselquist's *Augustana* and thereby caused such an uproar that he immediately requested that everything referring to the papers be stricken from the report. His wish was granted, but the members of the Conference smiled sympathetically and remarked, "Poor boy, how he must suffer." The Norelius sympathizers tried to take advantage of this situation and were able to clear Norelius' name¹ but they did not press the case against Montén.² It was certain that Norelius was not satisfied with such an inglorious victory, and his supporters were willing to bring the whole affair before the Synod, declaring that if the Synod sided with Sjöblom, the followers of Norelius were ready to separate from the organization.³ They undoubtedly were certain that the Synod would give them the desired victory and prosecute Montén, but refrained as by this step the unity of the Synod would again be threatened. Although preparations were made to bring up the case officially,⁴ the whole matter ended unexpectedly, when Montén considered it wise to withdraw from the Synod.⁵

Hasselquist undoubtedly was happy that Norelius had won, but he could not free himself from his old suspicions and feared that beneath this sudden and calm settlement of the difficulties in the Minnesota Conference there might be other plans.⁶ But the strife in Minnesota was "dead and buried."⁷ Norelius had been converted into a zealous advocate of Synodical unity, and showed Hasselquist that he would support no other paper than *Augustana*. But he

¹ J. O. Cavallin to E. Norelius, Moorhead, Minn., Feb. 19, 1886.

² A. Edström to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., March 1, 1886.

³ J. O. Cavallin to E. Norelius, Moorhead, Minn., April 10, 1886.

⁴ Erland Carlsson to E. Norelius, Andover, Ill., Nov. 24, 1886.

⁵ Ibid, Jan. 12, 1886.

⁶ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., March 16, 1887.

⁷ P. Carlson to E. Norelius, Moscow, Idaho, March 28, 1887.

had learned a lesson and sought carefully to avoid offending Sjöblom.¹ Norelius seems to have done all in his power to make amends for his past record and eagerly advocated the principles of Hasselquist, even opposing an immediate expansion of Gustavus Adolphus into a complete college.² His efforts were rewarded in 1889, when he was selected to succeed Hasselquist as editor-in-chief of *Augustana*.³ This also was a testimony that the ideals and principles of unity advocated by Hasselquist had gained strength and Sjöblom was no longer to be feared.⁴ Hasselquist dared to defy him openly, as is revealed by an editorial incident. Sjöblom had not contributed any material to *Augustana* for 21 years,⁵ and when he submitted an article in 1887, Hasselquist refused to publish it, stating, "Your article has arrived, but will not be published in next week's edition of *Augustana*. You mentioned that you wrote the article while having a toothache, and I can almost notice it...."⁶

But Hasselquist's worries had not yet come to an end. A factor more powerful than ambitious individuals had gained strength. This was the sectionalism that developed as the Conferences grew in numbers and wealth. This sentiment had expressed itself in the establishment of Conference schools, a policy which Hasselquist vigorously and unsuccessfully opposed.⁷ The Conferences, which had developed schools of their own, naturally objected to contributing to "Augustana College" and advocated that the institution be reduced to the status of a Conference School. Although in the mind of Hasselquist this was nothing short of treason, there was a group in the Illinois Conference which was willing to consent to such a move.⁸ This scheme had been very strongly urged as early as 1883, but Hasselquist had been able to prevent it and had even scored a

¹ E. Norelius to Hasselquist, Vasa, Minn., Feb. 1, 1887.

² Ibid, March 22, 1887.

³ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., Feb. 26, 1889; P. T. Lindholm to E. Norelius, McPherson, Kans., Sept. 7, 1889.

⁴ E. Norelius to Hasselquist, Vasa, Minn., Feb. 1, 1887.

⁵ P. Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Brainerd, Minn., March 18, 1887.

⁶ Hasselquist to P. Sjöblom, Rock Island, Ill., May 4, 1887.

⁷ *Augustana och Missionären*, April 26, 1882, June 6, 1883.

⁸ John A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., June 1, 1883.

temporary triumph in strengthening the institution by the approval of the erection of another building.¹ By 1886, however, the advocates of Conference Schools thought themselves sufficiently strong to bring the question before the Synod. This Hasselquist was able to prevent, but as a compromise a large committee was appointed to discuss the educational problems of the Synod and offer recommendations.

This committee met at Rock Island, Illinois, on August 24, 1886, and after heated discussions it was decided that Augustana College should continue its present status.² Naturally, this had not settled the question. The Synod had to consider the recommendation of the committee, and Hasselquist diplomatically recognized the need of Junior Colleges in the larger Conferences, refusing to join forces with a certain element in the Minnesota Conference that was opposing Gustavus Adolphus College.³ There is very little doubt but that Hasselquist eagerly strove to secure the acceptance of the report and it was undoubtedly through his influence that the Synod, in 1887, passed favorably on the recommendation.⁴ But all danger had not passed and a new line of attack appeared. A strong faction within the Synod proposed that the Augustana Synod should coöperate with the General Council in the theological education and move the Seminary to Chicago.⁵ Hasselquist opposed this, suspecting that it was only another attempt to make the College a Conference institution. This time the Synod might have overruled his opposition, but in 1888 a division among the Conference advocates and the lack of coöperation forced for the time being a temporary postponement.⁶

Hasselquist was growing old and naturally he became extremely irritated when he saw his dreams on the verge of being shattered. He was about to openly condemn Professor R. F. Weidner of Augustana College and Seminary

¹ Augustana och Missionären, June 27, 1883.

² Ibid, Sept. 1, 1886.

³ Ibid, Jan. 19, 1887.

⁴ Ibid, June 29, 1887.

⁵ Framåt, Aug. 13, 1887.

⁶ P. A. Cederstam to E. Norelius, Wannersburgh, Kans., July 4, 1888.

as the foremost leader in the plan to move the Seminary to Chicago.¹ But it was an unpropitious time for vigorous action. His allies could give him little support. Rev. O. Olsson had left suddenly for a trip abroad with a tinge of heresy attached to his name.² Norelius was in poor health, and Erland Carlsson was rapidly aging. Age and conservatism were seemingly losing ground, while youth and progressivism were gaining.³ But fate was again kind to Hasselquist, and in 1889 the Synod decided to move the Seminary to Chicago only on the condition that the General Council would donate its Seminary property in that city to the Augustana Seminary. This the General Council, naturally, refused to do.⁴ Prof. Weidner, however, continued to agitate the question and in 1890, to Hasselquist's despair, the popular topic of discussion within the Synod remained the question of removal.⁵ Prof. Weidner had won the support of the Minnesota Conference, and plans were so far matured that C. E. Lindberg was suggested as the new President of the College.⁶ As the Synodical Convention of 1890 approached, Hasselquist was active in his warnings and, in spite of his old age and failing health, he made the long journey to Jamestown, N. Y., and was successful in preventing the separation of the College from the Seminary.⁷

Hasselquist now deserved a rest, but he had hardly returned from the Synodical Convention in 1890, before he found it necessary again to call attention to secret plans that might culminate in the separation at the next Synodical Convention.⁸ As before, he denounced vigorously localism, and urged that the President of the Synod should be given more powers and, if necessary, that he be made a bishop.⁹ In the midst of these worries, probably believing

¹ J. Carlström to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., March 14, 1888.

² J. A. Carlson to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., Nov. 8, 1888.

³ Erland Carlsson to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., Oct. 17, 1888.

⁴ General Council Convention, Minutes, 1889, p. 28.

⁵ Norelius, Hasselquist, pp. 279-281; Augustana, Aug. 7, 1890.

⁶ C. E. Lindberg to Hasselquist, New York, N. Y., May 12, 1890.

⁷ Augustana, July, 1890.

⁸ Augustana, Sept. 4, 1890.

⁹ Augustana, May 15, 1890.

that his work and efforts toward unification had been in vain, he became ill. Weakened by the strenuous journey to the East, his physical strength was gone and he died February 4, 1891. Those who had supported Hasselquist now believed that without him the secret plans, against which he had warned, would be carried through successfully.¹ The Synod's foremost leader had passed away; "the safety valve" of the organization would no longer be present at the Synodical Conventions.² But their forebodings of disunion did not materialize. Through his extensive travels to the various parts of the Synod undertaken almost annually with the object of strengthening the feelings of unity and creating a stronger interest in Augustana College and Seminary,³ and above all, through *Augustana*, he had created a stronger tie of unity than he had even dared to consider possible, and in spite of all the differences prevailing within the Synod, Hasselquist had made it "one in mind and one in love."⁴

¹ P. A. Cederstam to Norelius, Pierson, Fla., Feb. 11, 1891.

² Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1891, p. 21.

³ This statement is based on the following sources: *Rätta Hemlandet*, Nov., 1873; Hasselquist to A. J. Setterdahl, March 20, 1874; *Augustana*, 1877, No. 9; C. G. Widen to Hasselquist, Sept. 9, 1880; *Augustana och Missionären*, Aug. 4, 1880, June 15, 1881, July 4, 1883, May 14, 1884, Aug. 6, 13, 27, 1884, Dec. 14, 1884, Sept. 23, 1885, May 27, 1885, Aug. 19, 1885, April 28, 1886, May 5, 1886, July 14, 1886, March 8, 1887, May 5, 1889, May 27, 1889; and *Augustana*, Aug. 21, 1890.

⁴ This expression was a favored expression of Hasselquist's. *Augustana och Missionären*, Aug. 13, 1884.

CHAPTER IX

HASSELQUIST AND THE FORMATION OF SWEDISH-AMERICAN OPINION

The influence of Hasselquist was extended far beyond the Swedish Lutheran Church in America, due to the fact that as the founder of the first Swedish-American newspaper, he was also greatly responsible for the shaping of Swedish-American political opinion. It is true that Anders Gustav Obom had begun a political paper in 1851 called *Skandinaven*, in which articles written in both Swedish and English appeared. But this attempt proved a failure and there is no evidence that Obom, who was very radical, left any impression on Swedish thought.¹ The evolution which led to the division of Hasselquist's journalistic venture into *Hemlandet* and *Rätta Hemlandet* has been described in a previous chapter. Through *Rätta Hemlandet*, which later became *Augustana*, he wielded a greater influence on the religious opinion of the Swedish Americans than any of his contemporaries and the cultivation of this field was, without a doubt, in his opinion the more important work. However, in the field of politics, his influence has not always been recognized because he was editor of *Hemlandet* for only a few years. But his editorship coincided with one of the most important periods of American political history, that just prior to the Civil War, when reforms were being urged, and a new party was in the making.

Hasselquist, as editor of *Hemlandet*, did not want to cast himself too hastily on the side of the Republican Party, but gradually and cautiously he led his readers into its ranks.² From the very beginning he took a definite stand on the matter of slavery, which he regarded as the most important question of the day.³ He believed that slavery could not be

¹ Söderström, *Blixtar på Tidnings-Horisonten*, p. 83.

² J. Engberg to Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., May 26, 1856.

³ *Hemlandet*, June 2, 1855.

conscientiously defended,¹ and that it was contrary to the spirit of the Bible.² Not infrequently *Hemlandet* contained articles on the suffering and the mistreatment of slaves,³ although he recognized the fact that such stories might easily be exaggerated, and that on some plantations the slaves were well cared for. But still he claimed, "It is ungodly in its very foundation and cannot stand the test of Christianity or be defended by a clean conscience, which has been cleansed in the blood that was shed for the people regardless of race. . . ."⁴ In addition to these arguments, Hasselquist often emphasized the idea that the Swedes were the sons of the Free North and contrasted their position with the social and economic thralldom of slavery.⁵ The picture of slavery that he presented was that of the orthodox Abolitionists: it degraded society and created a white aristocracy that was cruel, tyrannical, and immoral.⁶ It retarded economic progress, degraded work, impoverished the people, and concentrated wealth in the hands of a few.⁷

Undoubtedly, the majority of the Swedes in America shared Hasselquist's views, but in one instance he was severely criticized by a reader who claimed that the editor had gone too far in his attack upon slavery, declaring that as long as the institution was sanctioned by the Constitution of the United States, Hasselquist, by this agitation, was violating his naturalization oath to support the Constitution.⁸ *Hemlandet's* strong antislavery feelings were intensified by a number of events occurring in rapid succession: the popular reaction to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the struggle for Kansas,⁹ the filibustering in Cuba,¹⁰ Brooks' attack on Sumner,¹¹ and the Dred Scott Decision.¹² It was

¹ *Hemlandet*, June 2, 1855.

² *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1856.

³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1858.

⁴ *Ibid.*, June 2, 1855.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 10, 1855.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1855.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1858.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1855.

⁹ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1855.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, March 10, 1855.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, June 14, 1856.

¹² *Ibid.*, March 12, 1857.

these events that persuaded Hasselquist to firmly support the Republican Party, although as early as 1855, he was satisfied that the protection of slavery was the main interest of the Democratic Party.¹

But there was a stumblingblock which Hasselquist had to dispose of before he whole-heartedly joined the new organization. This was Know-Nothingism. The belief that the Know-Nothing Party had been organized as a protest against Catholics, "wild Irish," and an unsatisfied group of radical Germans, justified that party's existence in Hasselquist's opinion. The American principles of liberty had weathered many storms and were above criticism. The editor sympathized completely with the religious customs of the United States and opposed the "irreligious Germans" who attempted to turn Sunday into a day to be spent at the beer-gardens, in playing cards, drinking and fighting. But on the other hand, he could not favor the Know-Nothing Party because of his religious conviction that a secret society was contrary to the Word of God. Another more personal reason was the avowed hostility of the party to all foreigners, picturing them, irrespective of their origin, as "thieves, drunkards, and rowdies."² He also believed that their policy was an attempt to deprive the foreigners of political privileges,³ and he realized that their proposals of a heavy tax on all immigrants and of an extension of the period of naturalization to twenty-one years would practically put a stop to immigration.⁴ Hasselquist believed that the Catholic Church was an actual menace to the country, but he opposed the party for the above-mentioned reasons, claiming that it was destructive to the principles of American liberty.⁵

Prior to 1856, the Swedes seem to have somewhat favored the Democratic Party,⁶ and several attempts were made to secure the support of *Hemlandet*.⁷ The editor was, how-

¹ *Hemlandet*, Jan. 15, 1855.

² *Ibid*, March 31, 1855.

³ *Ibid*, May 4, 1855.

⁴ *Ibid*, March 31, 1855.

⁵ *Ibid*, March 10, 1855.

⁶ Beckman, *Amerikanska Studier*, Vol. I, p. 147.

⁷ *Hemlandet*, Oct. 24, 1856.

ever, unwilling to express any favoritism, and in 1855 urged the Swedes to vote for the man rather than for the organization, going so far as to include the candidate of the Know-Nothings.¹ But before the end of his first year as editor, Hasselquist took a more definite stand and declared that the Democratic Party was "the friend of the peculiar institution of Slavery," and that the Republicans constituted the only true antislavery party.² He admitted that in previous years the Democrats had been the friends of the foreigners, but now through their Southern affiliations they had become opposed to the interests of free white labor. He also looked with much disfavor upon the party's sympathy with Russia in the Crimean War, as Russia was regarded as the archenemy of Sweden.³ In spite of his pronounced views, he could not recommend the Abolitionists as he considered Garrison a radical, whose many utterances upon God and the Bible repelled him. In his opinion the Abolitionists and the Know-Nothings represented the American tendency to go to extremes.⁴ Therefore, he believed that the Republican Party offered the best solution to the slavery problem by advocating a gradual process of emancipation, and by June 14, 1856, it can be said that he had definitely affiliated himself with them. The immediate cause for this step seems to have been the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its aftermath.⁵ In June, 1856, an extra number of *Hemlandet* described the important political events which were taking place and committed the paper to the cause of the Republican Party.⁶ Senator Douglas's expression, "We mean to subdue you," was regarded as a threat that the Democratic Party was willing to use force to carry out its program for the extension of slavery.⁷

The exciting election of 1856 was approaching. Everywhere, at the blacksmith shop, at the grocery store, the question was asked: "Fremont or Buchanan?" The candi-

¹ *Hemlandet*, March 31, 1855.

² *Ibid*, Dec. 1, 1855.

³ Swedish Historical Society of America, Year Book, 1921-22.

⁴ *Hemlandet*, July 14, 1855.

⁵ *Ibid*, July 3, 1856.

⁶ *Ibid*, June 14, 1856.

⁷ *Ibid*, July 3, 1856.

dates were discussed, more than one fist fight was fought, and the burning of effigies of the President and the Presidential candidates added to the excitement.¹ Hasselquist's answer to this burning question of the day was definite. In the edition of August 15, 1856, the picture of Colonel John C. Fremont appeared, he being the first person to be so honored. The two candidates, Fremont and Buchanan, were discussed and compared. Fremont did not suffer in this comparison. His lack of experience in politics was used as an argument in his favor and even his elopement and his marriage by a "Catholic priest" were forgiven. His age, his military record, his explorations were all emphasized to his credit, while Buchanan's political experience, his views on slavery, and his age were against him.² Hasselquist tried to remove the possible fear among the Swedes that the Know-Nothing Party would vote for Fremont, by stating that this organization was no longer of any importance and that while some of its members would vote the Republican ticket, the greater majority would support Buchanan, as the party was stronger in the South where immigration was not favored. Fillmore's hostility to Fremont was another argument used by Hasselquist.³ He repudiated the Democratic Party's statement that the Republicans stood for disunion and countered with the warning that it was the Democratic Party which threatened secession if Fremont were elected.⁴

Shortly before the election Hasselquist made an appeal to the pride of the Scandinavians, by recalling their traditional freedom, declaring, "May also the Scandinavians in America be anxious to preserve and honor this ancient memory. May not the immigrated Norseman, who has the privilege of voting, dishonor himself, his countrymen, his home, his forefathers, his ancient liberty by giving his vote for Slavery."⁵ He published the Republican Ticket in *Hemlandet*, in order that the Swedes "might know for whom

¹ *Hemlandet*, Sept. 26, 1856.

² *Ibid*, Aug. 15, 1856.

³ *Ibid*, Sept. 12, 1856.

⁴ *Ibid*, Oct. 24, 1856.

⁵ *Ibid*.

to vote, and not be fooled by the Democrats."¹ Hasselquist believed that many attempts were being made by his opponents to win the Swedish vote, but he expressed the hope that, as the result of a large mass meeting of the Scandinavians of Chicago, the "eyes of all the Swedes, who were yet in doubt, might be opened," and that more Swedes would follow the example set by those in Chicago in committing themselves to the cause of Fremont and Free Soil.² He claimed that he had formed his political opinion on the basis of "a firm conviction received partly from the Word of God, confirmed by some knowledge of American History and existing conditions."³

Regardless of what Hasselquist's influence might have been, the number of the Swedes in the United States at this time was not large enough to be of any importance. Fremont was defeated by Buchanan. It was a disappointment to Hasselquist, who in reflecting upon the Democratic victory, decided that the sectional gap between the North and South had been widened. His interpretations of the result are of interest: The slave states in controlling the national government would probably begin a program of expansion into Mexico, Central America, and Cuba. The election had demonstrated the power of the mighty "dollar," as cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Boston gave Buchanan a majority vote in order to protect their cotton industries. The numbers won by Buchanan in certain states were the reflection of ignorance and lack of education. Hasselquist also believed that he had been correct in his opinion that the Know-Nothing Party held its strength in the South, and that Buchanan had by means of bribery and corruption won the victory.⁴ He hoped that the number of naturalized Swedes would, at the next election, be great enough to make their influence felt in the overthrowing of the administration, although this might lead to civil war.⁵

Henceforth *Hemlandet* became an openly partisan po-

¹ *Hemlandet*, Oct. 10, 1856.

² *Ibid*, Aug. 29, 1856.

³ *Ibid*, Oct. 24, 1856.

⁴ *Ibid*, Dec. 4, 1856.

⁵ *Ibid*, Dec. 18, 1856.

litical newspaper. In its columns, the Democratic Party was constantly associated with corruption and dishonesty.¹ The adjectives "Catholic," "Irish," "lawless," and "disorderly" were used in describing its membership and its policy.² Emphasis was put upon cases where the Democrats had been guilty of frauds at the polls.³ Hasselquist steeped his readers in the idea that honesty could not be applied to the Democratic Party, as its officials were corrupt and looked upon the public as their prey.⁴ He praised his countrymen when attempts to bribe them failed and congratulated the Swedes because they were not like the Irish, willing tools of the Democratic Party.⁵ Great was the contrast presented by the Republicans who stood for "liberty and culture,"⁶ and were the champions of free land.⁷

Hasselquist's last year as editor was marked by the important Illinois election of 1858. By that time the editor of *Hemlandet* had without a doubt persuaded many Swedes that to vote any other ticket than the Republican was not only contrary to a Christian conscience but an actual sin.⁸ He watched the Lincoln-Douglas debates with great interest. In Lincoln he saw a candidate, and in the Republican Party a party which was willing and able to limit the further extension of slavery and gradually starve it out of existence. Lincoln was promised the whole-hearted support of *Hemlandet*.⁹

There existed at the time, having probably been created for the purpose, two Norwegian papers, *Folkets Röst* and *Nordstjernen*, that supported violently the Democratic slate.¹⁰ These Norwegian papers had no effect upon the Swedes, except to make more intense the propaganda that Hasselquist spread in favor of Lincoln. Naturally, in the

¹ *Hemlandet*, Oct. 22, 1857.

² *Ibid.*, Aug. 27, 1857.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1857.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 17, 1858.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1858.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1857.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1858.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 1857.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1858.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Sept. 14, 1858.

eyes of Hasselquist, the "Little Giant" fared badly in the famous debates, Lincoln completely outwitting and bewildering his opponent.¹ Hasselquist declared he had never before heard a man, who so clearly explained the differences between the contesting parties, and he became a firmer Republican than ever. He eagerly urged his countrymen, who had not been naturalized, to secure their citizenship papers immediately, in order that they might cast their votes for the Republican Party and Lincoln.² As the election day approached, he realized that Douglas would probably win, but he consoled himself with the thought that "we have done all we have been able to do against this unjust cause and know that we have been right."³ As he feared, Lincoln was defeated. In two important contests, those of 1856 and 1858, Hasselquist had thrown his influence to the losing side, but his influence in shaping the political opinion of his countrymen was permanent, since it can be taken for granted that the Swedes who arrived in America after the Civil War were influenced by those who, in the fifties, had received their education in American politics from the pages of *Hemlandet*.

Perhaps the most effective testimony to Hasselquist's influence in forming the political opinion of the Swedes is found in the success of *Hemlandet* over its competitors, *Svenska Republiken* and *Minnesota Posten*. For whatever influence it had was the influence of Hasselquist, who insisted that "what was to be written in *Hemlandet* he must write himself,"⁴ and "what the paper had said that Rev. Hasselquist had said."⁵ His views were perhaps more readily accepted because he was a clergyman,⁶ and the number of subscribers was no true measure of the paper's influence. For instance, there were seven families in Frewsburg, New York, who read the same copy,⁷ and as this was the case in many communities, it is not improbable

¹ *Hemlandet*, Sept. 14, 1858.

² *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1858.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1858.

⁴ J. Engberg to Norelius, Princeton, Ill., June 16, 1855.

⁵ Söderström, *Blixtar på Tidnings-Horisonten*, pp. 88-89.

⁶ *Scandinavia*, Vol. III, No. 5.

⁷ *Hemlandet*, Aug. 28, 1855.

that when there were less than a thousand subscribers, from seven to ten thousand Swedes were readers of *Hemlandet*.

Rev. Erland Carlsson, a contemporary of Hasselquist, claimed that *Hemlandet* and its first editor did more than any other agency in forming the political opinion of the Swedes in America.¹ According to C. F. Peterson, a Swedish-American journalist of note, the Swedes were Democratic in 1852, but voted Republican in 1856, and since that time they remained so faithful to the principles of that party that all attempts made after 1860 to start a Democratic newspaper were doomed to fail because of lack of support.² According to that same authority, the Swedes in 1898 were ninety-nine per cent Republican,³ and the fact that the term "party slaves" was often associated with them is an evidence of their constancy.⁴

The influence that *Hemlandet* wielded must be largely attributed to Hasselquist, who laid down the principles which it honored until it was discontinued in 1914.⁵

¹ Minne av den Andre Mars 1886, pp. 6-9.

² Peterson, *Sverige i Amerika*, pp. 236-239.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 215-217.

⁴ *Svenska Tribunen*, Aug. 27, 1884.

⁵ Söderström, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

CHAPTER X

LITERARY ACTIVITIES OF HASSELQUIST: *Augustana*

Augustana, the leading religious organ of the Swedish Lutheran Augustana Synod, was "a child" of Hasselquist's. He brought about its existence; he nourished it; cared for it; and carried its responsibilities, which became continually heavier, upon his already overladen shoulders.¹ Here Hasselquist appears as the iron-willed leader of the Synod, who fearlessly defended its doctrines, and as the lovable father who fought for unity. Sometimes his belligerent methods seem crude; sometimes a spirit of intolerance shocks the reader, but in part these moods were inevitable as it was a tired, worried, and overburdened Hasselquist who spoke through the pages of *Augustana*. Early in the morning and late at night he could be found at his desk. His literary style may not have been perfect, but it was the spirit which was essentially the spirit of Hasselquist that made *Augustana* the foremost paper of the Synod.

In the chapter dealing with Hasselquist as the President of the Synod it was suggested that his last years in office were not happy. The Norwegian question was a constant worry, and a hostile element among the Swedes gained strength toward the close of the sixties. This was the result of the Religious Awakening in Sweden, which had led many to feel themselves called to serve the Lord by preaching the Gospel. Poorly trained, or without any training, these men, first serving as colporteurs, had begun to preach, instilling a feeling of dissatisfaction among the people toward the State Church, by objecting to its deadness and formalities.² This urge to preach and evangelize and the insistence upon "pure congregations," which were probably the result of the influence of *Pietisten*, were generally described in the term, "New Evangelism."³ With

¹ *Augustana och Missionären*, Aug. 6, 1884.

² *Framåt*, Feb. 11, 1891.

³ Hasselquist to G. Peters, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 4, 1865.

the influx of more recent immigrants, the effects of the "New Evangelism" began to reveal themselves in the Augustana Synod. As early as 1864, a pastor of the Synod dared to advocate "purer congregations,"¹ and there was a growing tendency to make piety the sole requirement for ordination, regardless of any other talents. Hasselquist, at this stage, probably did not view these tendencies with alarm, although he did not sympathize with the ideas of "perfectness," his theology regarding every man as sinful.²

But, in time, the "New Evangelism" caused serious problems. This was felt the most where there were no pastors. In such communities the colporteurs readily obtained a hearing,³ and things which now seem trivial became questions of great concern. The ritual and the form of worship generally used in the Synod became objectionable because they were a reminder of the State Church and its ceremonies. An example of this was the action of the congregation at Monmouth which wrote to Hasselquist that it seriously objected to having its pastor stand while reading the Gospel. Hasselquist immediately answered in a letter, advising the pastor "to stand, to kneel, to sit," to do anything in order to preach the Gospel. He seems to have looked upon the whole question as extremely unimportant, and as an "antiform movement," which permitted the devil "to pluck the seed."⁴ In his opinion there was no need for official action or recommendation, as he believed that America would cure this "evil" as it had cured many "evils" in the past.⁵ But in time his growing conservatism caused him to regard the use of too many colporteurs as extremely dangerous, and ascribe to the practice the dissatisfaction apparent among the more recent Swedish immigrants.⁶

The seriousness of the matter increased when literature of the "New Evangelistic" type was spread among the Swedish Lutherans.⁷ Hasselquist would not have been true

¹ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 7, 1864.

² Hasselquist to Jonas Swensson, Paxton, Ill., March 21, 1864.

³ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1865, p. 20.

⁴ Hasselquist to A. W. Dahlsten, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 21, 1865.

⁵ Hasselquist to J. P. Lundblad, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 4, 1865.

⁶ Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., Nov. 15, 1871; Hemlandet, May 22, 1866.

⁷ Hasselquist to G. Peters, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 19, 1867.

to his nature had he been content to look on idly as the hostility toward the Synod increased. As early as 1866, he planned to make a change in *Rätta Hemlandet*, which was now ten years old, turning it into an "uppbyggelse" or devotional paper, which would be open to a discussion of all problems and questions relating to the welfare of the Synod. He hoped thus to prevent much evil in the future, and overcome the handicap of an inefficient and poorly trained clergy, which was unable to check the smoldering opposition.¹ But at the following Synodical Convention, that of 1867, Hasselquist proposed that *Rätta Hemlandet* should retain its old character and that another periodical should be published. The Synod was unwilling to act upon this suggestion, fearing that the burden would prove too great for Hasselquist to bear, and they would consider no one else for editor. In 1868, Hasselquist again brought up his plan and this time it was carried. The Synod authorized the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society to publish the new paper, and having secured the promise of aid from Norelius and other influential clergymen, Hasselquist set out upon his duties as editor of the newly-founded *Augustana*.²

There was no doubt but that Hasselquist now hoped to check the opposition to the Synod by educating its members in matters relating to doctrine and order.³ Although it was to be directed principally against "New Evangelism," this policy was also an attempt to meet the growing opposition of an unreligious element among the Swedes, which had expressed itself even in the Swedish-American Press.⁴ It is also likely that Hasselquist thought that through his paper he would be able to strengthen the powers and the importance of the Augustana Synod.⁵ Hasselquist realized that he had great responsibilities as editor of *Augustana* and felt the need of the coöperation of others to make it

¹ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 6, 1866.

² *Augustana*, October, 1868.

³ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 11, 1870.

⁴ Hasselquist to O. C. T. Andrén, Paxton, Ill., May 21, 1868.

⁵ *Augustana*, October, 1868.

a success,¹ but he soon found that he was alone in this work.² Not only had his labors increased, but his worries as well, and if he had not already been crowned with gray hair, *Augustana* would have produced that condition.³ Due to the fact that there were no doctrinal differences between the "New Evangelists" and the Augustana Synod, his articles could not at first check the dissatisfaction among the more zealous antiformalists. Discontent increased and even invaded Hasselquist's former congregation at Galesburg, Illinois.⁴

Hasselquist believed that this rapid spread of the movement was partly due to the poorly trained ministers of the Synod and, therefore, made arrangements to send the most able of the students to the Lutheran Seminary at Philadelphia, and also endeavored to secure a more efficient clergy from Sweden.⁵ With this same view in mind, he urged Norelius to write "a popular History" of the Synod which he hoped would discredit the attacks of the "New Evangelists" upon the organization.⁶ He also took an opportunity presented by a visit to Sweden to change tactics and fiercely denounced the colporteur system as the root of the evils of separatism,⁷ and upon his return showed a firm determination to prevent any candidates for the ministry from becoming ordained unless they could prove themselves doctrinally sound.⁸ But compared to the opposition, these attempts were feeble and dissatisfaction flourished, especially in the pastorless congregations. All of this became more apparent when Rev. Charles Anderson began to edit the *Zions Banér*, as a competitor to *Augustana*, which had by this time been amalgamated with *Rätta Hem-*

¹ Hasselquist to P. Sjöblom, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 10, 1868.

² Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., April 12, 1872.

³ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 29, 1869.

⁴ Bowman, *Missionsvännerna i Amerika*, p. 23. Bowman partly accepted Norelius's view that the discontent in Galesburg was the after-effects of Hasselquist's liberalism while pastor, in refusing to wear the ministerial garb, and in manifesting other reformed tendencies. However, in a letter of Dahlsten to Dr. Passavant, a different light is thrown upon the subject which seems to be more correct. A. W. Dahlsten to W. A. Passavant, Galesburg, Ill., Jan. 25, 1869.

⁵ Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., May 31, 1869.

⁶ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 25, 1870.

⁷ Hasselquist to Bishop Bring (no date).

⁸ Hasselquist to T. Hallshand, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 30, 1871.

landet into *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*. Hasselquist could do nothing but express a hope that *Zions Banér* would reflect the loose doctrinal stand of the General Synod.¹

The object for which *Augustana* had been started had not been realized. But finally its opponents provided a clear opportunity. P. Waldenström, who succeeded C. O. Rosenius as the recognized leader of "New Evangelism," denied the Lutheran doctrine of atonement, and in this Hasselquist found a clear basis for attack. He could now accuse all the followers of Waldenström of heresy and this was a far more powerful weapon than the state-churchly accusation hurled at the Synod, which hitherto he had been engaged in defending. Now *Augustana* had a definite mission and for years it thundered its accusations of heresy.² As long as this "New Evangelistic" element remained within the Synod, it was bound to cause dissension, but it gradually withdrew, separating entirely from the Synod and allying itself with the stray anti-Augustana group among the Swedes. Some of the dissenters organized "The Mission Society" while others joined the General Synod,³ but later these two groups, after much argument, reunited, forming the "Missions Förbundet."⁴

It is impossible to give a date which marks the definite withdrawal of this evangelistic element and it is very likely that a small element remained within the Synod and never withdrew. At any rate, troubles of this nature did not entirely cease. In 1873, many zealous Christians of the Swedish Lutheran Church objected to any kind of church music except that played upon the piano or organ.⁵ The old pastor and able leader, Erland Carlsson, was practically compelled to resign from his congregation in a struggle over the question of "saved members."⁶ His resignation did not solve the problem and in 1875 a group of "New Evangelists" proposed to call a church meeting to determine

¹ *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, July and August, 1871. See also Bowman, *op. cit.*

² *Ibid.*, February and March, 1873.

³ *Ibid.*, November, 1873; Bowman, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-70.

⁴ Bowman, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 145, 305, 306.

⁵ Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Dec. 15, 1874.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1874.

who was saved.¹ News of similar trouble reached Hasselquist from Galesburg and required his presence.² The feelings of dissension within the Synod grew at an alarming rate. Reports from Minnesota showed that headway was being made by the dissenters in that state.³ Hasselquist was worried and exclaimed, "Our Waldenströmians are insane. God help both them and us."⁴ Sometimes so large a number in a congregation desired to join the Mission Synod that they threatened to take the church property of the Augustana Synod.⁵ But usually they were content with seceding.⁶

This difficulty could not come to an end as long as the conditions that fostered its growth remained. In 1875-76 the Augustana Synod had ninety-five vacant congregations providing a fertile soil for "party strifes."⁷ Even the older centers were occasionally affected. The Waldenströmians threatened to break up O. Olsson's congregation in Lindsborg, Kansas,⁸ and a few years after Hasselquist had left Paxton, "the heresy" invaded that former stronghold of Augustana Synod's orthodoxy. It is said that three-fourths of the large congregation were affected and it was only after Hasselquist had visited Paxton and arranged for the election of new deacons not affected by this "heresy" that order was restored.⁹ Erland Carlsson also had trouble at Andover, and prayed Hasselquist to visit the congregation and give him encouragement.¹⁰ In Pennsylvania many adherents were found, especially at Campello (sic), where Rev. H. O. Lindeblad claimed that "Waldenström hung on the walls in nearly every home."¹¹ C. O. Hultgren, working in the East, wrote, "Waldenströmmarna äro värre än gräs-hopporna i Minnesota och Kansas, riktiga insekter, de

¹ Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Aug. 2, 1875.

² Hasselquist to N. T. Winqvist, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 28, 1873.

³ P. Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., Nov. 6, 1873.

⁴ Hasselquist to A. Setterdahl, Paxton, Ill., March 21, 1874.

⁵ Hasselquist to C. J. Damström, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 23, 1874.

⁶ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1874, pp. 11-12.

⁷ Ibid, 1876, pp. 7-8.

⁸ O. Olsson to Norelius, Lindsborg, Kans., May 26, 1875.

⁹ N. T. Winqvist to Hasselquist, Paxton, Ill., May 6, 8, Sept. 6, and Oct. 1, 1878.

¹⁰ Erland Carlsson to Hasselquist, Andover, Ill., Feb. 14, 1878.

¹¹ H. O. Lindeblad to Norelius, Chandlers Valley, Pa., Feb. 20, 1879,

murra, bita, äta och gnava varhelst de fara fram." (The Waldenströmians are worse than the grasshoppers in Minnesota and Kansas, genuine insects, they buzz, bite, eat, and gnaw wherever they advance.)¹ However, by 1879 it can be said that the threatening inroad of the dreaded heresy had been checked within the Augustana Synod. By that time it had passed its zenith and had begun to lose ground.²

It was in *Augustana* that Waldenström met his greatest opponent.³ Hasselquist stood out as the most daring warrior against the doctrinal beliefs of Waldenström. He claimed that he spoke the truth whether it was liked or not. There was nothing compromising about the products of his pen.⁴ He, perhaps, was too harsh in his attacks at times, and there were a few who objected to the anti-Waldenströmian articles appearing in the Synod's paper.⁵ But Hasselquist, perhaps more than any, realized the danger and his warring spirit had been aroused. He feared Waldenström as a learned man of power whose influence among the immigrants increased the difficulties existing within the Augustana Synod.⁶ In 1875, Hasselquist made the frank statement that "the Christianity which is well represented among us stands rather close to Waldenström."⁷ Waldenström was accused of being "Donatistic," which was condemned by the eighth article of the Augsburg Confession, and of being "Socinian."⁸ Hasselquist especially stressed the question of atonement and in *Augustana*, "Waldenström met a wall."⁹ The struggle became more heated when, in addition to *Zions Banér*, another Waldenströmian paper appeared with the title, *Missionsvännen*.¹⁰ At last Hasselquist grew weary of this strife and, in 1876, decided to

¹ L. O. Hultgren to Hasselquist, Jamestown, N. Y., Feb. 20, 1878.

² *Augustana och Missionären*, April 2, 1879.

³ *Skandia*, April 24, 1878.

⁴ *Augustana*, 1877, No. 4.

⁵ A. R. Cervin to Hasselquist, Rock Island, Ill., March 9, 1878.

⁶ Hasselquist to O. Olsson, Paxton, Ill., May 3, 1873.

⁷ Hasselquist to J. Auslund, Paxton, Ill., May 8, 1875.

⁸ J. W. Richard, Free Church Movement in Sweden. (A tract found in the Augustana College Library. It is an answer to an article in the *Andover Review*, October, 1884.)

⁹ Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., March 11, 1874.

¹⁰ *Augustana*, 1874, No. 17.

attack only in defense.¹ Others, of course, had assisted in the battle, the veteran clergyman, O. Olsson, being a particularly effective ally.²

Although *Augustana* was the principal instrument used against Waldenström, Hasselquist applied other methods as well. By means of letters he tried to strengthen the Synod's case, as well as to find material for new attacks against the Mission Friends, the name popularly given to the Waldenströmi-ans.³ His sage advice to the various pastors of the Synod was no small factor in the ultimate success.⁴ Whenever any property was threatened by dissensions in some congregation, he carefully guarded the interests of the Synod.⁵ He watched for the appearance of heresy among the students of the Seminary in order that he might nip it before it could grow.⁶ The churches of the Synod were closed to those who were tainted with the "heresy." Hasselquist had been so successful in his efforts that many of the faithful readers of *Augustana* believed that the Mission Friends placed Waldenström above the Bible, and that the dissenters were contaminated "by the evil spirit."⁷ He was so ardent in this work that some of the members of the Synod accused him of having "forgotten the blood and the wounds of Christ."⁸ In order to strengthen Hasselquist's views on atonement, this question was discussed at Synodical meetings and was used as a text for sermons.⁹ It was almost hazardous to a pastor's position to preach a sermon at a Synodical Convention, as every word was weighed and scrutinized.¹⁰ A story is told about one of the less educated pastors, who was requested to speak at a convention upon the subject of the atonement. Having ascended to the pulpit, he read the text assigned, but his

¹ *Augustana*, 1876, No. 4.

² O. Olsson to Hasselquist, Lindsborg, Kans., Oct. 5, 1874; *Augustana*, 1874, No. 3; 1877, No. 11.

³ P. Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Mnn., Aug. 26, 1876.

⁴ Hasselquist to J. P. Nyquist, Paxton, Ill., July 14, 1874.

⁵ Hasselquist to C. J. Damström, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 23, 1874.

⁶ Hasselquist to C. A. Wenngren, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 4, 1874.

⁷ J. S. Benzon to Hasselquist, Omaha, Nebr., Jan. 24, 1876.

⁸ J. Auslund to Hasselquist, St. Paul, Minn., April 18, 1876.

⁹ *Augustana* Synod, Protokoll, 1876, pp. 14-20; *Augustana*, 1876, No. 8.

¹⁰ O. J. Siljeström to Hasselquist, Swede Point, Ia., April 17, 1877.

courage failed, he declared that someone more learned would have to take his place and preach the sermon. Hasselquist at once arose, walked to the pulpit, and delivered the discourse.¹ Such a policy led to a minute inspection of the clergy and in 1877 two pastors were compelled to leave the Synod, being found guilty of heresy.²

A new enemy appeared on the scene, in the form of *Chicago Bladet*, a pro-Waldenströmian organ which became more hostile to the Synod than any other paper had ever been. Hasselquist was not spared in its columns and many accusations were hurled against him.³ Evidently every effort was made to spread this paper,⁴ and its coming inaugurated another intense doctrinal strife.⁵ Even the Minnesota Conference, which usually was in a state of opposition, wished to join forces with Hasselquist to help keep *Chicago Bladet* "warm."⁶ Hasselquist had promised only to attack when attacked, but now *Chicago Bladet* directed its blows against the Synod, and *Augustana* took up the fight. Again the followers of Waldenström were accused of heresy, and the doctrinal controversy became more heated than ever. The war was so intense that it was feared that it would ruin *Augustana*,⁷ which not only accused Waldenström of the usual doctrinal errors, but denounced his views upon the Ten Commandments,⁸ and the "bread-breaking societies."⁹ *Chicago Bladet* furnished Hasselquist with a great deal of material which he used to the best advantage, emphasizing the denial of the atonement through Christ, and the fact that *Chicago Bladet* had ridiculed the Song of the Angels, "Holy, Holy, Holy." Through it all, Hasselquist tried to keep the dispute above personalities.¹⁰ His method was simple, by illustration attempting to picture the possible results of religious fanaticism, of which so

¹ Interview with Rev. Geo. A. Johnson, Vinton, Ia., Jan. 5, 1930.

² *Augustana*, 1877, No. 8.

³ *Chicago Bladet*, Dec. 7, 1877.

⁴ Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., March 31, 1877.

⁵ *Augustana*, 1877, No. 3.

⁶ P. Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., Dec. 22, 1878.

⁷ *Augustana*, 1878, No. 12.

⁸ *Augustana och Missionären*, Sept. 3, 1879.

⁹ *Augustana*, 1878, No. 11.

¹⁰ *Augustana och Missionären*, Jan. 22, 1879.

many examples might be cited.¹ But it was mainly by accusing Waldenström of Socinianism, which the people feared even if they did not understand, that his teachings were considered a condemnable heresy.² The attacks in *Augustana* became less frequent and Hasselquist probably felt that he had carried true Lutheranism to victory, and checked the movement within the Augustana Synod. The struggle could not go on forever, and in 1880, Erland Carlsson expressed his joy over the apparent fact that it had come to an end.³

In the future the war against Waldenström was carried on in the same manner as that against the Baptists and Methodists, although the proselyting efforts of the Mission Friends were more feared than those of any other denomination.⁴ The Swedish Baptists and Methodists increased slowly, while the Waldenströmiens profited from their intense activity, supporting four or five newspapers and two or three Sunday school papers and sending their missionaries from one settlement to the other, seeking converts.⁵ As the years went by, Hasselquist continued to answer *Chicago Bladet* and *Missionsvännen* in the pages of *Augustana*, but it was not the Hasselquist of the seventies.⁶ He even expressed admiration for Waldenström, though he regretted that he had not followed more faithfully in the footsteps of Rosenius.⁷ On some occasions when Waldenström's teachings were not contrary to Hasselquist's views of true Lutheranism, they were published in *Augustana*.⁸ This modification in his attitude toward Waldenström was partly due to the fact that he no longer feared his influence upon the Synod and partly because he was growing old.⁹ He no longer sought strife and acted only in defense of his views.¹⁰

¹ *Augustana och Missionären*, Jan. 22, 1879.

² General Council Convention, Minutes, 1879, p. 52.

³ Illinois Konferensens Protokoll, 1880, p. 7.

⁴ *Augustana och Missionären*, July 16, 1884.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1886.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 18, 1887, Sept. 1, 1887.

⁷ *Ibid.*, March 5, 1884.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1886.

⁹ *Ibid.*, June 15, 1881.

¹⁰ *Augustana och Missionären*, Feb. 2, 23, 1888; Jan. 31, 1889.

In 1889, P. Waldenström visited the United States (Hasselquist said Waldenström made the visit in order "to correct his heretical teachings") and again received considerable space in *Augustana*, causing the old controversy over atonement to flare up again.¹ Hasselquist invited his old opponent, as a scholar, to visit Augustana College and Theological Seminary, but the invitation was declined. The book that Waldenström wrote upon his return from his visit to America pictured the Augustana Synod in an unfavorable light and was the subject of some of the very last lines which Hasselquist penned before his death.² He defended the Synod to the last.³ No one can say to what extent "New Evangelism" would have played havoc with the Augustana Synod, if it had not been for Hasselquist. Through it all the Synod grew in spite of the struggles, protected by the strong anti-Waldenström spirit he had fostered among the laity and the clergy.⁴ It is also a fact that in those congregations where the members eagerly read *Augustana och Missionären* there was also little fear of dissension.⁵

With the starting of *Augustana*, Hasselquist not only planned to counteract the influence of the "New Evangelism" but also to wage war upon everything that he considered evil. Like all reformers, he believed that he lived in the most evil and sinful of all ages, and warned his people "to watch the signs of the time."⁶ Some of the signs which Hasselquist thought were pointing to the end of time were Internationalism, Socialism, and Communism, which he denounced as hostile to all the present rules of society, Christianity, and civil order.⁷ In the same light he viewed all

¹ *Augustana och Missionären*, July 4, 1889, Aug. 29, 1889, Oct. 10, 1889.

² *Augustana*, Jan. 29, 1891.

³ *Augustana och Missionären*, July 23, 1879; Jan. 22, 1879.

⁴ J. D. Nelsenius to Hasselquist, Omaha, Neb., July 28, 1885.

⁵ N. J. Bring to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Jan. 11, 1877. Prof. Stephenson believes that if the spirit of O. Olsson had prevailed rather than that of Hasselquist, the "Mission Friend Movement" might not have been so strong and there would have been no separation from the Synod. *Lutheran Companion*, Nov. 30, 1929. Prof. C. A. Blomgren believed that the connection with the General Council saved the Augustana Synod. *Augustana Synod, 1860-1910*, p. 227.

⁶ *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, Jan. 1872, Jan. 1873.

⁷ *Ibid.*

secret societies and those who did not share this view he condemned as "copperheads."¹ All questions were to be judged by the Word of God,² and this meant not only the condemnation of the Knights of Labor, but even of the Good Templars because their organization was secret.³ Among the other "signs of the time" which were vehemently denounced in the columns of *Augustana* were the doctrines of the Freethinkers which were expounded in some of the Swedish-American newspapers.⁴ He fought "cheap literature," "cheap novels" and "stories," directing this attack primarily against competitors of his old paper, *Hemlandet*, which through "continued stories" sought to increase their subscription lists. On the other hand, he recommended "good" literature, which, by his interpretation, was reading of a religious nature.⁵ He fought Materialism,⁶ declared that theaters were evil,⁷ tobacco a vice, dancing wicked; and all true friends of the Word were warned against the "skating rinks," which were put in the same class with the theater and the dance hall.⁸ In every way, on every question, the Augustana Synod was saturated with puritanism and ultraconservatism, which C. A. Swensson proudly described as "true conservatism."⁹

Hasselquist was not content with warring against Waldenström and the evils of the time. He had been the principal character in the struggle for converts in the fifties and had vigorously denounced proselyting, a denunciation which indicates that he thought that the Lutheran Church possessed an exclusive right to do missionary work among the Swedes. Judging by his attitude, one is persuaded that he firmly believed the Lutheran Church to be the only true Church of God, although, undoubtedly, he acknowledged that non-Lutherans could also be saved.¹⁰ He had hoped

¹ *Augustana och Missionären*, Oct. 4, 1888.

² *Ibid*, March 9, 1887.

³ *Ibid*, Nov. 30, 1881.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ *Ibid*, Oct. 18, 1888; *Augustana*, 1876, No. 3; *Augustana*, Aug. 21, 28, 1890.

⁶ *Augustana och Missionären*, March 2, 1881.

⁷ *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, May, 1872.

⁸ *Augustana och Missionären*, Feb. 13, 1884.

⁹ Swensson, *The Swedes in America*, pp. 9-10.

¹⁰ *Augustana*, 1878, No. 3; *Echo från Reformations Festen*, 1878, p. 20.

to gather all his countrymen into this Church of God.¹ and through the columns of *Augustana* he endeavored to convince the readers of the doctrinal errors prevailing among other religious denominations.² Other denominations, not entirely innocent of trespassing upon the Synod's territory, vigorously protested against Hasselquist's idea of Lutheran monopoly, and in turn accused the Augustana Synod of "formalism."³ But they discovered that the Augustana Synod "was an even more vigorous opponent than the State Church of Sweden."⁴ If this war against proselyting was of any significance in the growth and development of the Synod, then Hasselquist's articles in *Augustana* were of the greatest importance. Dr. G. A. Brandelle writes, "The great doctrines of original sin, repentance, justification, faith and sanctification, have ever been held forth in the simplicity, clearness and strength of this Confession (Augsburg). Never has the Synod shown the least leaning toward anything that might be interpreted as yielding to the 'up-to-date' spirit in religious matters." This illustrates how deeply Hasselquist's writings upon doctrinal matters were rooted in the Synod.⁵

Closely connected with the strife against proselyters was the problem of the unity of the Augustana Synod, and *Augustana* was an important agent in connecting the widely scattered Swedish settlements. Through this organ, it was attempted to make the Synod "one in mind" and "one in

¹ *Augustana*, 1875, No. 1.

² *Augustana och Missionären*, March 26, 1884.

³ *Augustana*, 1875, No. 17.

⁴ Hasselquist to Archbishop A. U. Sundberg, Rock Island, Ill., April 7, 1884.

⁵ *Augustana Synod*, 1860-1910, p. 232. No attempt has been made to present in detail the rebuttal used against the Methodists, Baptists, etc., but the arguments were similar to those used against Waldenström. Nearly every number of *Augustana* contained evidence of this "war of words." A few illustrations will be cited. H. W. Beecher's sermons were "a terrible mixture of truths and lies," *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, March, 1870. Presbyterians were praised because they were considered "industrious" and caused him no worry, *Ibid*, June, 1871. The Swedes became stronger anti-Catholics, *Ibid*, May, 1871. The Evangelical Alliance was a noble and praiseworthy effort, but "not free from proselyting," *Ibid*, July, 1873. He opposed revivals and therefore could not praise Moody and Sankey, *Augustana*, 1875, No. 16. However, when Moody condemned secret societies, Hasselquist admired his stand, *Augustana*, 1877, No. 2. The Methodists were criticized for their idea of "saved members," *Augustana och Missionären*, May 28, 1879. He did not mean to condemn anyone's faith; he only wrote on doctrinal matters, *Augustana och Missionären*, Dec. 22, 1886.

love.”¹ Through its pages the problems that confronted the church were discussed. Congregations hundreds of miles from each other were brought closer together through the information in its columns. News from individual congregations, and reports from mission fields gradually received more space as Hasselquist realized that they tended to make the periodical more interesting.² Thus he helped to create a feeling of unity to counteract local and sectional interests.³ “Unity is strength” was Hasselquist’s plea,⁴ and, therefore, to create sympathy and understanding within the Synod became an important object of *Augustana*.⁵ It was the theory that a common interest in the expansion and growth of the Synod would strengthen the feelings of unity and further even more extended growth.⁶

It is very difficult to determine to what extent Hasselquist as editor-in-chief of *Augustana* until 1889 influenced the doctrine, unity, and growth of the Synod.⁷ The influence of *Augustana* cannot be wholly judged by the number of its subscribers. In 1872, they amounted to only 1,800 with probably three times that number of readers.⁸ Sometimes copies of *Augustana* could be found in remote homes, “old and torn” from circulating from hand to hand,⁹ and thousands of copies were distributed among the Swedish immigrants when they arrived in New York.¹⁰ After the merger of *Luthersk Kyrkotidning*, *Nytt och Gammalt* and *Augustana* late in 1873,¹¹ *Augustana* had readers in all parts of the Union.¹² In 1882, the subscribers numbered 6,000¹³ and in 1889, when Hasselquist gave up his post as editor-in-chief, the total was nearly 7,100.¹⁴ Many times during

¹ *Augustana och Missionären*, Aug. 13, 1884.

² *Ibid*, Oct. 14, 1884.

³ *Ibid*, Sept. 29, 1886.

⁴ *Ibid*, Jan. 5, 1888.

⁵ *Ibid*, March 3, 1886; *Augustana Synod*, Protokoll, 1889, pp. 40-41.

⁶ *Augustana och Missionären*, Nov. 30, 1881.

⁷ *Minnen från Jubelfesten*, 1910, p. 209.

⁸ *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, June, 1872.

⁹ *Augustana och Missionären*, Oct. 15, 1881.

¹⁰ General Council Convention, Minutes, 1885, p. 72.

¹¹ *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, November, 1873.

¹² *Augustana*, 1874, No. 11.

¹³ *Augustana Synod*, Protokoll, 1882, p. 42.

¹⁴ Undated Newspaper Clipping, “Den verld vi lefva uti,” by A. R. (*Augustana* College Library).

his term of office he was discouraged over the progress of his journal, and even resigned his position as editor, although the Synod refused to sanction this action.¹ Many persons objected to his conservative, centralizing, and unifying policy and this was expressed in the appearance of a number of other papers within the Synod, so that Hasselquist did not have a monopoly of Swedish Lutheran journalism.² *Evangelisk Luthersk Tidskrift* and later *Skaffaren* were published in Minnesota³ and Rev. C. O. Lindell undertook the publication of *Nåd och Sanning* in Chicago.⁴

These ventures Hasselquist looked upon with disfavor. He urged the loyal support of *Augustana* and showed disapproval of any attempts made by ministers to encourage *Nåd och Sanning* or *Skaffaren* to the detriment of *Augustana*.⁵ He believed that the privilege of beginning such enterprises should rest with the Synod and that this body should receive any pecuniary gains resulting from the press. His dissatisfactions were of little avail, and a third competitor, *Bethania*, appeared in 1881.⁶ Hasselquist did not consider all publications within the Synod rivals of *Augustana*. He sanctioned *Barnvännen* and *Ungdomsvännen* as satisfying the needs of special classes,⁷ and the monthly *Augustana Observer*, which catered to those of the younger generation whose English was better than their Swedish.⁸ But he felt that if *Bethania* were accepted on the grounds that it was the organ of the Iowa Conference, then a paper in every Conference was justified, in which case the Synodical publication would be of no importance and the task of securing unity greatly handicapped. Toward these rivals he used vigorous tactics. He accused *Nåd och Sanning* of being guilty of nothing less than heresy,⁹ and in 1882, the publishers decided to discontinue.¹⁰ In 1884, he demanded

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1884, p. 59; Augustana och Missionären, July 8, 1885.

² J. Auslund to E. Norelius, St. Paul, Minn., Feb. 17, 1877.

³ P. Sjöblom to E. Norelius, Red Wing, Minn., Dec. 24, 1877.

⁴ C. O. Lindell to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., March 1, 1877.

⁵ C. E. Lindberg to Hasselquist, New York, Nov. 3, 1880.

⁶ Augustana och Missionären, March 2, 1881.

⁷ Ibid, Nov. 24, 1880.

⁸ Ibid, Jan. 25, 1882.

⁹ Ibid, Sept. 6, 1882.

¹⁰ Engberg and Holmberg to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Dec. 13, 1882.

that the Iowa Conference should at least change the character of *Bethania* into an entirely devotional paper, but a satisfactory arrangement was made by which this journal was discontinued and in its place the Conference received a column in *Augustana* for the Iowa news.¹ The victory, however, was not complete. In 1884, the seven pastors in Chicago who belonged to the Augustana Synod revived *Nåd och Sanning*, as a semipolitical paper, finally changing its title to *Vårt Land och Folk*.²

From this time the Swedish Lutheran press increased rapidly. *Framåt* and *Hemvännen* appeared, the latter gaining great strength when in 1888 it absorbed *Vårt Land och Folk*.³ In the same year *Österns Väktare* was started by the New York Conference⁴ and the tract *Uppåt* was put into circulation by the Pacific Conference,⁵ and *Wahoo Bladet* practically became a Conference paper the following year.⁶ These papers may be taken as an evidence that Hasselquist was losing ground, and that age had deprived him of his former vigor, or they may be considered an expression of the growth of the Synod, and the general realization of the necessity of more than one paper. But Hasselquist looked upon their appearance as factors that would threaten unity and he determined to lay the entire situation before the Synod in 1889.⁷ He realized that he was becoming old, and fearing that the growing popularity of *Hemvännen* would crush *Augustana*, he decided to resign his editorship in the hope that a merger might be arranged between the two.⁸ In this he had his way; *Hemvännen* merged with *Augustana* and in the following years wielded a stronger influence in the cause of unity than even the former editor had ever dared to hope for.⁹ But during the trying pioneer years, he had championed unity and orthodoxy and these principles, as he had interpreted them, prevailed.

¹ *Augustana och Missionären*, Oct. 1, 1884.

² *Ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1884, Nov. 10, 1886.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1888.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Oct. 4, 1888.

⁵ *Ibid.*, May 10, 1888.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1889.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1889.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 24, 1889.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1889.

CHAPTER XI

LITERARY ACTIVITIES OF HASSELQUIST: *Hemlandet*

It would be but natural that Hasselquist, for sentimental reasons at least, would be greatly interested in the newspaper he had started. During the period of 1859-1872, *Hemlandet*, *Det Gamla och Det Nya* had seven different editors, and all of these, except Rev. Erland Carlsson, became acquainted with the criticism of Hasselquist. The first editor employed by the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society was Rev. E. Norelius, who soon discovered that the term "editor" did not imply that he was free to express his own opinions, although even Hasselquist had, at the time of the organization of the Society, insisted that the editor of *Hemlandet* should be given complete liberty.¹ But Hasselquist seems to have forgotten this sentiment and it became very clear to Norelius that the liberty granted him as editor implied that he could freely express himself as long as his views were not contrary to the views of Hasselquist.² The latter complained that errors in printing and in grammar were made and that articles of an uninteresting character were published. Hasselquist, it is true, was not easily pleased and Norelius was overburdened with work, being compelled to visit congregations and preach in addition to his editorial duties. But, in the opinion of Hasselquist, this was not a satisfactory alibi for inefficiency, as the "public excuses nothing."

A new competitor to *Hemlandet*, *Frihetstvänneren*, appeared in 1859. Hasselquist had intended to ridicule this paper because of its errors, but Norelius' grammatical mistakes thwarted his plans.³ Undoubtedly, one of the chief reasons for Hasselquist's severity was the fact that he feared that

¹ L. P. Esbjorn to E. Norelius, Springfield, Ill., April 2, 1859.

² Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 68.

³ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., Jan. 17, 1859.

Frihetsvännen would gain in popularity at the expense of *Hemlandet*, in case the latter were poorly edited. He, therefore, carefully scrutinized the pages of *Hemlandet*, showing his pleasure when there was improvement but warning that if mistakes continued being made, he again "would be wrought up."¹ Norelius objected to this constant interference and resigned before the completion of his first year had expired, stating that "certain conditions, that need not be mentioned, make it necessary for me to leave my post."² Erland Carlsson, who succeeded Norelius in September, 1859, attempted, a little later, to offer a satisfactory explanation of the sudden resignation of Norelius by attributing it to illness.³ Carlsson was not overly anxious to retain his new position and urged Hasselquist to call A. R. Cervin, Hasselquist's brother-in-law, to the editorship.⁴ But Cervin had not completed his studies in Sweden and was unable to accept the position at the time, and thus Carlsson was compelled to continue, although in November, 1859, he obtained the assistance of Jonas Engberg,⁵ who practically became the editor of *Hemlandet*, as Carlsson was busily engaged in his parish work and in the care of the Swedish immigrants arriving at Chicago.⁶

Hasselquist's early experience evidently had taught him that continual criticism of the editor of *Hemlandet* would have only one result: the resignation of another editor. At any rate he seems to have become more cautious, and at the end of the year 1859, Engberg wrote with pride to Norelius that he had not "had a clash" over any articles published in *Hemlandet*. Only once had Carlsson advised him, warning him not to publish a certain article on children's games, because someone might become offended.⁷ However, Engberg later complained that Carlsson had become more and more critical, and resolved to follow the example set by Norelius. But before he took this drastic

¹ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., July 16, 1859.

² *Hemlandet*, Sept. 21, 1859.

³ *Ibid*, Sept. 28, 1859.

⁴ Erland Carlsson to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 8, 1859.

⁵ *Hemlandet*, Nov. 23, 1859.

⁶ Erland Carlsson to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 21, 1859.

⁷ J. Engberg to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 7, 1859.

step, he talked to Hasselquist,¹ who apparently settled the case satisfactorily, as Engberg continued in the position until Cervin finally arrived from Sweden in 1864.²

A. R. Cervin was a very good editor, but an extremely inefficient manager, and Carlsson, who still supervised the Publication Society, did not know, he said, whether to weep or laugh, when Cervin showed no sign of being willing to take his advice.³ But Hasselquist nursed Cervin. He criticized him,⁴ he lauded and excused him, claiming that never before had *Hemlandet* been edited in a better fashion.⁵ When Cervin was unable to care for the financial aspects of management, his more capable brother-in-law helped him.⁶ Cervin was also given to understand that if *Hemlandet* followed the stand taken by the *Chicago Tribune* on political questions, it would have the approval of Hasselquist, who sympathized with that paper's political views.⁷ Hasselquist was very anxious that *Hemlandet* should become more and more of a purely political paper, and warned his brother-in-law not to occupy himself with theological disputes but to treat more fully the popular political questions of the day.⁸

When Cervin was called to a professorship at Augustana College and Seminary, P. A. Sundelius was selected as the new editor of *Hemlandet*. Sundelius hesitated at first to accept the position because there had been some opposition to his appointment, but finally he consented. He promised, like all former editors of *Hemlandet*, to continue the past policy of the newspaper with respect to both political and religious questions.⁹ Every sign indicated that *Hemlandet* had found a very satisfactory editor. He appeared to be a zealous Lutheran and a staunch Republican and since he defended Hasselquist as well as attacked *Svenska Amerika-*

¹ J. Engberg to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., June 5, 1862.

² *Hemlandet*, July 13, 1864.

³ J. Engberg to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 17, 1864.

⁴ Hasselquist to A. R. Cervin, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 21, 1865.

⁵ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 28, 1866.

⁶ Hasselquist to A. R. Cervin, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 13, 1866.

⁷ *Hemlandet*, Jan. 25, 1867.

⁸ Hasselquist to A. R. Cervin, Paxton, Ill., May 19, 1869.

⁹ *Hemlandet*, July 28, 1868.

naren, the archenemy of Hasselquist, his position as editor of *Hemlandet* seemed secure.¹ However, the new editor was not willing to be dictated to and displayed a spirit of independence unparalleled in the history of the Publication Society.

Sundelius, therefore, had not been editor very long before Hasselquist became convinced that his selection had been most unfortunate. All the pietistic preachers had considered *Svenska Amerikanaren* a godless paper and rejoiced when Hasselquist attacked it, because it supported "secret societies, advertised dances and theaters."² But Sundelius, although following the example set by Hasselquist, soon found himself censured, because his attacks had not been based on principles, but had degenerated into a feud with the editor of *Svenska Amerikanaren*, Herman Roos.³ The editor of *Hemlandet* might have been able to continue this "war" undisturbed, and even weather another storm, the controversy with Sjöblom, if he had not incurred Hasselquist's opposition in an entirely different matter. Hasselquist had no sympathy with *Göteborgs Handels- och Sjöfartstidning*, a journal he regarded as very ungodly, but Sundelius was not of the same opinion and had dared to write in its praise. The guardian of *Hemlandet* immediately informed Sundelius: "Should *Hemlandet* imbibe the spirit of *Handelstidningen*, then it would fight Christianity and have completely failed in its purpose... The expression in *Hemlandet* has wounded many of its friends and its present supporters both here and in Sweden. But me, who have brought about the existence of *Hemlandet*, it wounds the most. This is my earnest opinion, openly expressed, however, I wish no publicity in the matter, neither a defending statement. It would be best if Sundelius accepted my view."⁴ Evidently Sundelius was willing to repent, for he regained the confidence of Hasselquist to such a degree that he was reelected editor of *Hemlandet* in 1869.⁵ Hasselquist

¹ *Hemlandet*, Oct. 13, 1868.

² *Svenska Amerikanaren*, July 24, 1867.

³ *Hemlandet*, July 6, 1869.

⁴ Hasselquist to P. A. Sundelius, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 5, 1869.

⁵ Hasselquist to P. Sjöblom, Aug. 12, 1869.

even began to defend Sundelius against the attacks of Rev. P. Sjöblom, whom he reprimanded, stating that if Sundelius advocated something, which he found to be wrong, he would criticize him.¹

Rev. P. Sjöblom was, however, not willing to admit that Hasselquist was the only person who had the right to criticize the editor of *Hemlandet*. The controversy between Sundelius and Sjöblom dated back to the Bloomington Temperance Convention, which had characterized the use of all drinks except water as a moral wrong. The Convention held that the church was unable to solve the temperance problem, which could be effectively solved only by Temperance Societies. Sundelius, sharing the view of Hasselquist that Temperance Societies were evil, denounced this stand of the Convention while Sjöblom was active in its defense.² This difference had resulted in an exchange of letters between the two, which were published in *Hemlandet*. Hasselquist felt that the controversy was detrimental to both the church and the paper and tried to prevent the same, but in vain.³ He went so far as to have the Board of Directors of the Publication Society definitely forbid Sundelius to publish any letters from Sjöblom, and requested Sundelius to drop the fight.⁴

If Sundelius had only followed this advice and brought the heated controversy to an end,⁵ Hasselquist might have been willing to overlook the whole affair, but when Sundelius evinced a spirit not wholly in sympathy with the Synod, the wrath of Hasselquist was intensified.⁶ The veteran Swedish-American leader was perplexed by this defiance when Sundelius even refused to recommend *Augustana* in *Hemlandet*. But Sjöblom, backed by Norelius, urged Hasselquist that the time had come for the sale of *Hemlandet*, as it had passed out of the control of the Synod. The former, however, refused to listen, as he still clung to the belief

¹ Hasselquist to P. Sjöblom, March 9, 1869.

² *Hemlandet*, March 9, 1869.

³ Hasselquist to P. A. Sundelius, Paxton, Ill., March 4, 1869.

⁴ *Hemlandet*, April 6, 1869.

⁵ *Ibid*, April 13, 1869.

⁶ Hasselquist to Rev. G. Peters, Paxton, Ill., July 2, 1869.

that the press "was necessary to sow the noble seed."¹ He spoke to Sundelius and received a promise of a changed attitude. However, it seems that the former was not in the habit of keeping any promises given to Hasselquist, and complaints against the editor of *Hemlandet* continued to come in.² Therefore, the situation was brought before the Ministerium of the Synod, held at Chicago in December, 1869. The legality of this step might be questioned, as the paper was the property of the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society, and, therefore, the Ministerium was without authority. But "the most honored President of the Synod, instead of preventing the illegal discussions, led them," wrote Sundelius in *Hemlandet*. The editor of *Hemlandet* objected, but realizing the significance of the protest of the Ministerium, he resigned immediately to become the editor of *Svenska Amerikanaren*, the paper he had previously ridiculed and fought.³

Hemlandet was now without an editor, and in order to make the continuation of the paper possible, John A. Enander, a student of Augustana College and Seminary, was selected to serve temporarily.⁴ Through Enander, Hasselquist hoped that *Hemlandet* might be able to regain the prestige lost during the regime of Sundelius.⁵ The new editor was not without journalistic experience and due to the ability he displayed, the temporary position became permanent.⁶ Enander, ambitious by nature, hoped to make his paper the best edited Swedish-American newspaper,⁷ and although competition may not have been very keen, it is to his credit that his ambition was soon realized.⁸ In some circles, Hasselquist was accused of being responsible for the first laurels of recognition accorded to Enander on the part of the press in Sweden by unfairly praising *Hemlandet* and its editor far above the rest of the Swedish

¹ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 12, 1869.

² Ibid, Dec. 2, 1869.

³ *Hemlandet*, Dec. 21, 1869.

⁴ Ibid, Dec. 29, 1869.

⁵ Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 21, 1869.

⁶ *Hemlandet*, Jan. 25, 1870.

⁷ Ibid, Feb. 21, 1870.

⁸ Ibid, May 24, 1870.

newspapers and editors in America.¹ Whether or not this was the truth, Hasselquist could with justice be proud. The new editor showed a keen interest in the Synod,² and he held Hasselquist's exalted opinion, that it was the mission of the Press to be a servant of the Church.³ The relationship, therefore, between Hasselquist and Enander was very close and friendly. The latter brought all his worries and troubles to the former, who willingly gave advice. He warned the editor against overconfidence in dreaming of a greater *Hemlandet*, stating that the Swedes in America would never be entirely satisfied with one journal;⁴ he sagely told him to carefully weigh all matters before publishing them, in order that no more Sundelius-Sjöblom controversies might occur; he prudently advised Enander that, in a dispute involving a minister of the Augustana Synod and a layman, only the minister's articles were to be published.⁵ Enander faithfully heeded the advice of his former teacher, but in the columns of *Hemlandet* there is nothing to indicate that the policy of the paper was influenced by anyone but the editor.⁶

The editor was, however, not very strong physically, and in 1872, the arduous newspaper work compelled him to take a short vacation. During his absence Magnus Elmblad assumed the responsibility.⁷ Elmblad had assisted Enander for a short time, but not with marked success. Perhaps Hasselquist felt himself duty-bound to give him employment in view of the fact that he was the son of one of Hasselquist's friends in Sweden,⁸ and had not been very successful in the United States. But the "lost son's" connection with *Hemlandet* proved unfortunate. A change in the paper was immediately noticeable.⁹ Hasselquist easily discovered many faults, but his ire was especially aroused

¹ *Hemlandet*, July 14, 1870.

² *Ibid*, Jan. 18, 1870.

³ *Ibid*, March 22, 1870.

⁴ Hasselquist to J. A. Enander, Paxton, Ill., April 21, 1871.

⁵ *Ibid*, March 11, 1871.

⁶ *Hemlandet*, March 21, 1871.

⁷ *Ibid*, Feb. 20, 1872.

⁸ Hasselquist to Magnus Elmblad, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 10, 1871.

⁹ Söderström, *Blixtar på Tidnings-Horisonten*, p. 89.

by a poem, written by Elmlblad, entitled *Nya Verlden*. To the pious church leader it seemed to be a recommendation of the newspaper *Nya Verlden*, which he considered one of the most godless of journals.¹ Elmlblad tried to explain that his production was not a recommendation, but a satire. The former was not satisfied and wrote that he did "not doubt the ability of Elmlblad as an editor," but that it would be "profitable if we could have a few hours to discuss the principles on which I think a political paper ought to be edited according to the Word of God."² Magnus Elmlblad was unable to agree with the principles of Hasselquist, and a little later, like Sundelius, he joined the staff of *Svenska Amerikanaren*, where he enjoyed a greater liberty in expressing himself.³

In a previous chapter it has been told how the Minnesota Conference forced the sale of *Hemlandet* in 1872 to J. A. Enander and G. A. Bohman. With this sale the paper passed out of the direct control of Hasselquist. But throughout the period 1859–1872, when it was the property of the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society, Hasselquist, in a more or less pleasing fashion, acted as a dictator. He fought and denounced all the competitors of *Hemlandet*, instilling thereby an intense hostility on the part of the non-Lutheran Press toward the Synod. No Swedish-American newspaper had been spared by his pen. *Frihetsvännen*,⁴ *Sändebudet*,⁵ *Skandinavisk Post*,⁶ *Svenska Amerikanaren*⁷ and *Nya Verlden*⁸ were all condemned.

There is much evidence that during these years Hasselquist dictated the policy of *Hemlandet* in synodical and religious matters, but there seems to be no evidence that he controlled its political views. It can, however, be taken for granted that he had not become disinterested in politics when he ceased to be the editor. He was a true Republican,

¹ Hasselquist to M. Elmlblad, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 29, 1872.

² Ibid, March 4, 1872.

³ Söderström, Blixtar på Tidnings-Horisonten, p. 89.

⁴ *Hemlandet*, Feb. 6, 1861.

⁵ Ibid, Aug. 17, 1864.

⁶ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Oct. 17, 1865.

⁷ *Hemlandet*, Sept. 17, 1867.

⁸ *Nya Verlden*, Dec. 15, 1873.

who praised God for the fact that the Swedes were nearly all Republicans.¹ The lack of positive evidence must, therefore, be explained by the fact that he preferred to speak personally to the editors of *Hemlandet* in regard to the policy rather than to write, or by the fact that all the editors of *Hemlandet* were as zealous Republicans as he, and there was no reason for any interference on his part.² Once, however, in 1872, *Hemlandet* hesitated as to whether its support should be given to the Republican Party or to the Liberal Republican Party. Finally, it decided to support General U. S. Grant, a decision that pleased Hasselquist so much that he wrote to Enander commending him for the stand *Hemlandet* had taken, arguing that although much could be said against Grant, the candidates of the Liberal Party could, under no circumstances, be supported. This letter illustrates how Hasselquist's religious convictions determined his political views. He could not support Greeley because he believed that the Liberal Party favored "all kinds of liberty," even "Sabbath liberty," and he suspected that this party was supported by the irreligious German element and the saloon interests. In the opinion of Hasselquist, religion could not be kept out of politics as long as the forces of irreligion continued to press their demands.³

The political policy inaugurated by the first editor of *Hemlandet* was continued uninterruptedly. Before the Civil War, *Hemlandet's* editor, like Hasselquist, expressed an implicit faith in the Republican Party, and hoped for the gradual abolition of slavery.⁴ The Democratic Party, on the other hand, was considered corrupt from the President down to county officials,⁵ and for such a party no one could vote conscientiously.⁶ In the very name, "Republican," according to *Hemlandet*, were embodied all noble principles of "freedom and enlightenment," as well as "the welfare of the people and of the States."⁷ When Abraham Lincoln

¹ Hasselquist to Rev. Dahlsten, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 28, 1864.

² Hasselquist to M. Elmlad, Paxton, Ill., March 4, 1872.

³ Hasselquist to J. A. Enander, Paxton, Ill., May 17, 1872.

⁴ *Hemlandet*, Oct. 5, 1859.

⁵ *Ibid*, Jan. 25, 1859.

⁶ *Ibid*, Sept. 21, 1859.

⁷ *Ibid*, Feb. 23, 1859.

was selected by the Republican Party as its candidate, both in 1860 and 1864, *Hemlandet* extended loyal support to the party. The picture of Abraham Lincoln was sent to the homes of all the readers in both of these elections, and Abraham Lincoln was extolled as the only man who could successfully solve the question of slavery and later bring the Civil War to a close.¹

During the Civil War, the cause of the Union was supported with the most intense patriotism. To be a Democrat or a Copperhead was nothing short of treason, and all Democrats were told that it was impossible to be loyal to the United States, unless one were a Republican. All Democrats were accused of being un-American and were requested to leave the country.² The death of Abraham Lincoln was a blow, which intensified *Hemlandet's* Republican views. It came to regard the Congressional plan of reconstruction as Lincoln's plan, and justified the actions of Congress.³ The case of John Brown and the merciless punishment he had received were recalled. The South had committed a greater crime than that of John Brown and it deserved no leniency.⁴ In the struggle between President Johnson and Congress, *Hemlandet* came to the support of the latter and claimed that President Johnson "had forsaken the party that the almighty and righteous God had given the victory."⁵ It, therefore, urged that the President be impeached, but when he was declared not guilty of the charges, it took the failure philosophically, claiming that, after all, the best thing had happened, as the Democrats had not been given "any water for the mill."⁶

In the election of 1868, *Hemlandet* supported the Republican Party, saying that Grant was the only person that could be voted for "with a clean conscience."⁷ The official organ of the Swedish Lutheran Church had no scruples against "waving the bloody shirt," claiming that a Demo-

¹ *Hemlandet*, Aug. 3, 1864.

² *Ibid.*, April 13, 1864.

³ *Ibid.*, Jan. 23, 1866.

⁴ *Ibid.*, July 2, 1867.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 31, 1866.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 4, 1868.

⁷ *Ibid.*, June 9, 1868.

cratic success would destroy the fruits of victory.¹ A man with "the slightest intelligence" according to *Hemlandet* knew how to vote in 1868, because the Democratic candidate for the presidency was "a political intriguer" and "a man without character," while General Grant possessed the noblest character and his "ignorance of political affairs" was a credit to him.² *Hemlandet* had become so saturated with Republicanism that it was impossible to discontinue its continual accusations, blaming the opposing party for all the evils that came in the wake of the Civil War: the national debt, heavy taxation, and the like.³ The Republican Party's mission never came to an end, it being considered the only party that could successfully solve the financial problems of the country and correctly and economically expend the taxes.⁴ Amnesty had been the cry of the Liberals and the Democrats, something that *Hemlandet* also desired, but it believed that this amnesty could be given only by "the Conquerors of Slavery," the Republican Party.⁵ Enander, while editor, not only supported the Republican Party in the columns of his paper, but he visited various Swedish settlements campaigning for Grant.⁶

In the latter part of 1872, *Hemlandet* became the property of John A. Enander and G. A. Bohman. Enander remained the editor and promised to continue his support of the Republican Party, saying that the only change that had taken place by the sale of the paper by the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society was that it now had ceased to be a denominational organ.⁷ The editor was faithful to his promise to such a degree that in the late eighties the term "party slave" was attached to *Hemlandet*, and to avoid this rather distasteful term it proclaimed itself "an independent Republican newspaper," which implied no change whatsoever.⁸ Undoubtedly, Enander had gone so far in

¹ *Hemlandet*, Feb. 4, 1868.

² *Ibid.*, Aug. 23, 1868.

³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1870.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1870.

⁵ *Ibid.*, June 11, 1872.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 27, 1872.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1872.

⁸ *Ibid.*, March 31, 1888.

his favoritism to the Republican Party that the accusation "party slave" was not without foundation. In 1874, he had stated that a very poor Republican Government was to be preferred to a Democratic Government, which implied moral destruction.¹ When more and more was heard about corruption in the Republican Party, Enander insisted that, although certain men might be corrupt, the principles of the party were still the same noble principles, whereas it was easy to trace the origin of corruption in politics to the Democratic Party with the introduction of the Spoils System by Andrew Jackson.² *Hemlandet* simply could not forsake "the victory-crowned banner of the true Republican Party,"³ and throughout its existence, from 1855 to 1914, it remained so faithful to its first love, that not even Theodore Roosevelt could induce it in 1912 to forsake the Grand Old Party and join the Progressives.⁴

No attempt has been made to follow *Hemlandet's* support of the various Republican candidates after 1872, the year when it passed out of the direct control of Hasselquist. There existed, however, the closest relationship between him and Enander, and through this friendship we discover the true history of *Hemlandet*, which remained the most influential Swedish-American newspaper. Enander revealed to Hasselquist the story of struggle and strife between the various Swedish-American journals.⁵ He reported how *Hemlandet* fared in this struggle, because it strove to be faithful to the principles laid down by Hasselquist, and how the other newspapers gained ground due to the fact that they were free to publish "popular stories,"⁶ and to profit by questionable financial support.⁷ In 1878, Enander was so discouraged that he was ready to leave *Hemlandet* and return to Sweden,⁸ but Hasselquist encouraged him, stating that the condition of *Hemlandet* was not as alarming as

¹ *Hemlandet*, June 30, 1874.

² *Ibid*, April 14, 1876.

³ *Ibid*, Jan. 2, 1884.

⁴ *Ibid*, Oct. 29, 1912.

⁵ John A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Aug. 2, 1873.

⁶ *Ibid*, Monday morning, August (?), 1873.

⁷ *Ibid*, Dec. 31, 1878.

⁸ *Ibid*, Dec. 27, 1878.

Enander believed, and that the reputed growth of the rival Swedish-American newspapers was based entirely on rumors.¹ When Enander complained of the increasing opposition to *Hemlandet*, Hasselquist answered: "If *Hemlandet* did not have enemies, I would not be its friend."²

Hasselquist evidently had no intentions of discontinuing the use of *Hemlandet* to further the interests of the Synod. He claimed that *Hemlandet* was duty-bound to support the Synod, and recommended the paper as he had always done and urged other ministers to do the same.³ *Hemlandet*, due to its past official connection with the Synod, was regarded by all other Swedish-American newspapers as an organ of the Synod.⁴ They ridiculed its conservatism, and as Enander was known, personally, to be liberal in his views, it was taken for granted that *Hemlandet's* conservatism was due to the fact that Enander was subordinated to the Hasselquistian discipline."⁵ As late as 1882, Enander complained to Hasselquist that many subscribers were lost because of the conservative views of the paper, and that the "moderate liberal" *Svenska Tribunen* gained in popularity.⁶

Hasselquist's influence may have retarded the growth of *Hemlandet* to some extent and it may be that the able editor would have won even greater laurels, if he had not been subjected to the "Hasselquistian discipline." But Enander showered Hasselquist with letters by which he tried to show that he was worthy of Hasselquist's friendship. He told him how he fought for temperance⁷ and how he carried on the war against corruption in politics, and political rings like "Hesing's League" in Chicago.⁸ He described how he worked, lectured and wrote in behalf of the Republican Party,⁹ and opposed Communism as well as the Greenback

¹ Hasselquist to J. A. Enander, Rock Island, Ill., Sept. 26, 1877.

² Ibid, Feb. 20, 1873.

³ Ibid, April 12, 1873.

⁴ *Hemlandet*, March 31, 1888.

⁵ *Nya Verlden*, Dec. 15, 1873.

⁶ J. A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., April 1, Dec. 18, 1882.

⁷ Ibid, Nov. 27, 1873.

⁸ Ibid, Sept. 9, 1874.

⁹ Ibid, Nov. 4, 1875.

movement, condemning them as unchristian.¹ Hasselquist very plainly showed that he appreciated the true Republican Party spirit expressed by Enander, and sought to have the Republican Party, in turn, recognize the faithfulness of the editor of *Hemlandet* to the party.²

Just as Hasselquist had reasons for his keen interest in *Hemlandet*, Enander had reasons for a thorough understanding with Hasselquist. He desired his approval and the support of the Augustana Synod for financial reasons. When any other paper showed a tendency of leaning toward the Synod and by a friendly policy sought its support, Enander deliberately attempted to poison the mind of Hasselquist against that paper.³ He made it a point to display the virtues of *Hemlandet* and emphasize that its policy like that of Hasselquist was to fight "cheap literature" such as "love and murder stories." Enander took pride in the fact that he had "written what Professor Hasselquist himself had expressed on the subject."⁴ He took great pains to keep Hasselquist posted on the many anti-Augustana Synod articles published in contemporary papers,⁵ and no one can doubt but that he succeeded. Hasselquist became more than glad to recommend *Hemlandet* and to denounce all its rivals.⁶

The owners of *Hemlandet* became more anxious than ever to display their faithfulness to the Augustana Synod, when *Skandia* appeared as a contender for the favor of the Synod. Due to the fact that a professor of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, P. E. Melin, was connected with the founding of *Skandia*, it was claimed that the Synod had violated the contract with Enander and Bohman, in which a promise had been made not to undertake the publishing of another political newspaper. The owners of *Hemlandet* evidently regarded the contract as a guarantee of a monopoly within the Synod.⁷ *Skandia's* untimely appearance

¹ J. A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., March 30, 1878.

² Hasselquist to J. A. Enander, Rock Island, Ill., Dec. 22, 1877.

³ J. A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Aug. (?), 1873.

⁴ Ibid, March 6, 1877.

⁵ Ibid, Dec. 17, 1877, Feb. 12, 1873.

⁶ Augustana och Missionären, Aug. 8, 1883.

⁷ Bihang till *Skandia*, 1877, No. 7.

upset the balance existing in the Swedish-American press. *Folkets Tidning*, *Vårt Nya Hem*, *Nya Svenska Amerikannaren*, *Nya Verlden*, *Svenska Posten*, *Sändebudet*, and *Nordstjernan* rejoiced that *Hemlandet* had at last encountered what they thought a worthy rival.¹ It was a serious problem. C. A. Wenngren believed that the whole Synod might split into two groups, one pro-*Hemlandet*, the other pro-*Skandia*. Enander anxiously appealed to Hasselquist as the only one who could solve the problem.² Hasselquist thought that the new rival of *Hemlandet* was a private undertaking and that the Synod was not involved and thus not guilty of having broken the contract.³ However, he had seriously tried to discourage Professor Melin,⁴ and promised to give all his support to *Hemlandet*, but requested that *Hemlandet* should not give publicity to his sympathies, because it would cause a great disturbance.⁵ As he felt that he had a greater influence over Enander than Melin, he successfully exerted himself to calm the former.⁶ Professor Melin was, however, forced to choose between *Skandia* and his position,⁷ and in spite of the fact that he chose to be a teacher rather than an editor, his unfortunate connection with *Skandia* was one of the reasons why he did not long remain a professor at Augustana.⁸ Hasselquist had successfully dealt with the problem, and the new editors of *Skandia* further strengthened the ties between *Hemlandet* and the Augustana Synod by an open and intense war upon the latter and its favorite, *Hemlandet*.⁹

Hemlandet again had a monopoly and the undivided support of Hasselquist. Enander wrote to the "ruler" of the Synod in 1880, "It makes me happy to know that the professor approves of *Hemlandet*."¹⁰ But Enander's joy was not complete, as a growing feeling of hostility against *Hem-*

¹ *Skandia*, Feb. 2, 1877.

² J. A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Feb. 26, 1877.

³ *Ibid*, Jan. 3, 1877.

⁴ *Ibid*, Feb. 23, 1877.

⁵ *Ibid*, March 12, 1877.

⁶ *Ibid*, March 6, 1877.

⁷ *Skandia*, Aug. 1, 1877.

⁸ Augustana College Catalogues, 1877-78; 1878-1879.

⁹ *Skandia*, March 20, 1878.

¹⁰ J. A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Jan. 12, 1880.

landet expressed itself in the Minnesota Conference in the publication of the semipolitical newspaper, *Skaffaren*.¹ The owners of *Hemlandet* again claimed that the Synod had violated the contract, as this time even the president, Rev. E. Norelius, had been partly responsible for the appearance of a competitor.² Hasselquist had, in vain, advised against this step. He claimed, however, that *Skaffaren* was not a Synodical undertaking, and that if people within the Synod wished to start a political paper, he could not prevent them. A bitter newspaper war ensued between *Hemlandet* and *Skaffaren*. Finally Hasselquist requested *Hemlandet* to be silent or he would discontinue his favoritism, writing, "I have decided to express my opinion and will sing out."³ This was nothing short of a threat and *Hemlandet* was silenced.⁴

But in 1882 the war between the two papers again flared up. *Skaffaren* thought it could crush *Hemlandet* and bring Enander into disgrace. Enander appealed to Hasselquist again, arguing that the contract had been violated by the Synod. He even threatened to return *Hemlandet* to the Board of Directors of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, from whom it had been bought.⁵ This, naturally, was only a threat and it was probably not taken seriously, but Hasselquist plainly showed that he favored *Hemlandet* and that he believed that the Minnesota Conference had acted unjustly.⁶ He urged peace,⁷ a blessing which can be said to have been restored, when L. G. Almén became the editor of *Skaffaren*, a man who was willing to listen to Hasselquist's advice, "Be careful."⁸

But the monopoly of *Hemlandet* had been broken, when *Skaffaren* was able to continue as a pro-Augustana Synod paper. Editor Almén, however, knew that *Hemlandet* had no rival in the heart of Hasselquist,⁹ and his ambition was

¹ J. A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Jan. 8, 1880.

² Ibid, Dec. 22, 1879.

³ Hasselquist to J. A. Enander, Rock Island, Ill., Dec. 27, 1879.

⁴ J. A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Jan. 20, 1880.

⁵ Ibid, April 1, 1882.

⁶ Hasselquist to P. A. Cederstam, Rock Island, Ill., March 16, 1882.

⁷ Hasselquist to P. Sjöblom, Rock Island, Ill., March 15, 1882.

⁸ Hasselquist to L. G. Almén, Rock Island, Ill., Aug. 11, 1883.

⁹ L. G. Almén to Hasselquist, New London, Minn., Jan. 29, 1884.

centered upon winning Hasselquist's approval of the existence of *Skaffaren*.¹ The number of pro-Augustana papers increased and, like *Skaffaren*, they viewed with jealousy *Hemlandet's* secure place in his affection. But although Hasselquist claimed that he did not favor any paper unfairly, he did not succeed in convincing these other papers, who were even, so to speak, anxious to eat the crumbs that fell from Hasselquist's table. They looked with suspicion upon the repeated visits of the editor of *Hemlandet* to Rock Island, Illinois. Newspapers like *Svenska Härelden* of Kansas and *Skaffaren* of Minnesota tried zealously to further the cause of the Synod, and knowing that Hasselquist was the Synod's most determined temperance advocate, these papers took pains to become temperance organs, denouncing *Hemlandet* as being only "lukewarm" on the temperance question and secretly favoring secret societies.² Almén went so far as to request Hasselquist to place his stamp of approval on his temperance articles, making *Skaffaren* about exclusively a temperance paper.³

These rivals of *Hemlandet* undoubtedly did not exaggerate the close relationship between Enander and Hasselquist. But Hasselquist, on the other hand, put forth some efforts to be fair. In 1884, he advised a minister of the Augustana Synod to accept the editorship of *Svenska Härelden* of Minnesota, which was friendly to the Synod.⁴ When C. A. Wenngren, formerly the zealous temperance editor of *Svenska Härelden* of Kansas, started a new paper in Nebraska called *Folkets Vän*, Hasselquist congratulated him and wished him success.⁵ In 1888, Hasselquist also placed his stamp of approval upon *Superior Posten*, saying that it was edited in a Christian spirit.⁶ The line so sharply drawn between the pro-Augustana Synod papers and the anti-Augustana Synod newspapers also gradually disappeared, and many that had formerly taken a great pleasure

¹ L. G. Almén to Hasselquist, New London, Minn., March 7, 1884.

² C. A. Wenngren to Hasselquist, Kansas City, Kans., Jan. 29, 1884.

³ L. G. Almén to Hasselquist, New London, Minn., Feb. 27, 1886.

⁴ Augustana och Missionären, Dec. 24, 1884.

⁵ C. A. Wenngren to Hasselquist, Stromsburg, Neb., March 16, 1887.

⁶ Augustana och Missionären, Aug. 2, 1888.

in ridiculing the organization adopted a friendly policy. The number of newspapers edited by ministers of the Synod increased, and in the early nineties articles appeared in nearly every Swedish-American newspaper written by ministers and prominent lay members of the Synod.¹ But in spite of it all, no one can doubt that *Hemlandet* was Hasselquist's first love, and it was, therefore, only fitting that it should be John A. Enander who proposed the establishment of "The Hasselquist Fund" at Augustana College and Seminary.²

¹ Jubel-Album, 1893, p. 251.

² *Hemlandet*, March 5, 1891.

CHAPTER XII

THE POLITICAL PURITANISM OF HASSELQUIST

Hasselquist's influence upon Swedish-American political opinion has been discussed in previous chapters. There were, however, two social questions which in no small way affected his faithfulness to the Republican Party. The problem of secret societies and temperance were to him among the most important issues of the day. As has been already emphasized, Hasselquist, while in Sweden, had been a strong advocate of temperance. He had toured various parts of Scania in company with the Swedish apostle of temperance, P. Wieselgren, denouncing the evils of drinking.¹ Temperance, according to Hasselquist, was an essential Christian virtue. When he arrived in America, observing the opportunities for indulgence, he feared that this "national Swedish sin" would haunt the happiness of his countrymen who had emigrated, believing that drunkenness "ate up opportunities," "drove peace out of the homes," and "prepared the body for an early grave."² He compared the habit with a disease that infected the individual, the family, and society, by destroying the strength and health of youth, inducing an early death, making wives widows, turning wealth into poverty and filling jails with criminals.³

The basis of Hasselquist's vigorous opposition to intemperance was his firm belief that drinking was "one of the great sins, which God punished with eternal death and condemnation."⁴ His arguments were drawn from the Bible, and he advocated what has been called "Biblical temperance," that is, absolute abstinence.⁵ The only exception was the use of wine at the Communion Service, for it was wine and no substitute that Christ had used.⁶ Naturally, his views were somewhat affected by the temperance movement

¹ Nothstein, *My Church*, Vol. I, p. 11.

² *Hemlandet*, Jan. 3, 1855.

³ *Ibid*, April 14, 1855.

⁴ *Augustana*, 1875, No. 14.

⁵ *Ibid*.

⁶ *Ibid*, 1875, No. 21.

in the United States. In the fifties he gave his support to the "Maine Law,"¹ but showed himself to be more pleased with the proposed "Liquor License Law,"² which indicated that he was at all times willing to support temperance, although he was not yet strongly in favor of prohibition. But in the eighties, when the prohibition movement began to gain ground in the United States, Hasselquist extended his support, declaring that he had come to the conclusion that the only solution of the intemperance problem was prohibition.³ In placing his stamp of approval upon the "Maine Law" and the Illinois Prohibition Liquor Law, he warned that if a person failed to support these reforms, "he would have to answer for it on the Day of Judgment."⁴ He did all in his power to further the cause in the city of Galesburg, Illinois,⁵ and urged the Swedes in the State of Iowa to vote for the Liquor License Law.⁶

During the Civil War and the reconstruction period, Prohibition was pushed into the background but was revived again in the seventies, when temperance propaganda was given a prominent place among public questions. In the discussion, Hasselquist was an active participant, taking great pleasure in using statistics to illustrate the evils of drunkenness.⁷ In the eighties when it seemed that the fruit of this propaganda was to be reaped, the Swedish-American temperance advocate rallied to the cause. He urged the Swedes in Kansas to vote for Governor J. St. John and Prohibition. In a similar fashion he worked for the adoption of a proposed prohibitory amendment to the Constitution of Iowa.⁸ He denounced the influence of the liquor interests in politics,⁹ expressed hope for National Prohibition,¹⁰ and with eagerness watched the progress of

¹ *Hemlandet*, March 31, 1855.

² *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1857.

³ *Augustana*, 1876, No. 5.

⁴ *Hemlandet*, June 2, 1855.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1857.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1857.

⁷ *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, March, 1871; *Augustana och Missionären*, Jan. 29, 1879.

⁸ *Augustana och Missionären*, April 7, 1880.

⁹ *Ibid.*, April 14, 1880.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1881.

the movement as it swept over the various states, constantly urging his countrymen to join the ranks of the Prohibitionists.¹

It is not necessary to go into details, to mention the success and failures of this movement except insofar as Hasselquist played a part. He showed his greatest interest in the states of Kansas and Iowa. In the former, an amendment to the Constitution was adopted,² an example which Iowa followed after several unsuccessful attempts.³ The reader may be surprised to find Hasselquist's activities concentrated in states other than Illinois. Undoubtedly he felt that in his own state the cause was hopeless,⁴ although his zeal for temperance never wavered during the eighties.⁵ Wieselgren's friend had become a thorough Prohibitionist.⁶

Hasselquist spread his propaganda through the medium of *Hemlandet*, *Rätta Hemlandet* and later in *Augustana*. His influence can be noticed in *Hemlandet* long after he ceased to edit the paper, and it can be traced in other Swedish papers such as *Shibboleth*, *Skaffaren*, *Svenska Härelden* in Kansas, *Folkets Vän* and *Framåt*. But naturally, his influence in this respect, as well as in other movements, was greatest within the Augustana Synod. It was not only through the press that adherents to temperance were sought. Hasselquist spoke in favor of it in the pulpit;⁷ he sent out students from the Seminary to lecture upon the subject;⁸ and he exerted his influence upon the Synod to exclude drunkards from church membership.⁹

The fact that *Hemlandet* had, since the days of Hasselquist, paid little attention to the cause of temperance during the sixties is explained by the excitement caused by the Civil War and reconstruction, the struggle between Congress and President Johnson, and the interest shown in the large

¹ Augustana och Missionären, March 16, 1881; May 31, 1882.

² Ibid, March 16, 1881.

³ Ibid, Nov. 22, 1882; March 12, 1884.

⁴ Ibid, March 16, 1881.

⁵ Ibid, Sept. 8, 1886; Aug. 4, 1886; March 23, 1887.

⁶ Ibid, Nov. 4, 1885.

⁷ Hemlandet, March 29, 1870.

⁸ Skaffaren, Jan. 13, 1892.

⁹ Hasselquist to A. Andren, Paxton, Ill., Sept. 10, 1866.

wave of immigration which followed the close of the war.¹ When these problems had become old, *Hemlandet* again began to denounce intemperance, which it declared the greatest curse of the land since the abolition of slavery.² These views were those of Hasselquist's brother-in-law, and to be sure, the views of Hasselquist himself. When John A. Enander became editor of *Hemlandet*, phrases taken word for word from the writings of Hasselquist, such as "the spirit of watchfulness against the evils of the times," "injurious to soul and body," and "brings shame on the Swedish nationality," appear in the editorials.³ After the sale of *Hemlandet* by the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society, Enander, still editor and now part owner, seemed to falter. He was no longer so positive, and came to Hasselquist with his worries. He had noticed that the German Lutherans were not in favor of temperance, and he was shocked when some of these claimed that "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott" had been composed by Luther in a "beer-house."⁴ Hasselquist must have convinced him that it was possible to be a Lutheran and still work for temperance; at any rate, Enander renewed the war against the saloon and the liquor interests,⁵ claiming that as a result of these activities the Swedes in Indiana were won over to the cause of Temperance.⁶ Perhaps many of these articles and editorials were written to please Hasselquist, of whom he said, "May God give the Professor strength to fight against both freethinkers and drunkenness."⁷ On occasions, Enander modified his stand, feeling that too much stress upon the temperance question might prove ruinous to the cause of the Republican Party.⁸

It may be that Hasselquist was not satisfied with the wavering of *Hemlandet* in the temperance question; perhaps he felt that *Augustana* should not be the only sup-

¹ *Hemlandet*, June 26, 1866.

² *Ibid*, March 26, 1867.

³ *Ibid*, Feb. 8, 1870; March 29, 1870.

⁴ J. A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., May 17, 1873.

⁵ *Hemlandet*, Oct. 13, 1874; Jan. 13, 1886; Feb. 21, 1883; Feb. 19, 1887.

⁶ John A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., June 1, 1877.

⁷ *Ibid*, Nov. 14, 1879.

⁸ *Hemlandet*, Oct. 27, 1874.

porter of the cause. Whatever the reason, he advocated the publication of a Swedish temperance paper. This was to be a periodical which "was not afraid to sing out loudly."¹ Shortly thereafter a temperance and anti-secret society publication called *Shibboleth* appeared, but there is no evidence that it was the result of Hasselquist's expressed desire or that he had any part in its birth. However, the fact that Rev. A. G. Setterdahl and Rev. S. P. A. Lindahl, ministers of the Augustana Synod, began the paper, as well as the fact that Setterdahl lived in Moline, gives rise to the belief that the editors were in close communication with Hasselquist.² From the contents it is evident that it was an organ that dared to "sing out" and the influence of Hasselquist is shown in its adoption of "Biblical Temperance" and the republishing of articles from *Augustana*.³ *Shibboleth* also copied extracts from the *Christian Cynosure*, an American anti-secret society and pro-temperance paper, which Hasselquist frequently recommended and quoted.⁴ Hasselquist praised the new paper and called it "a little David," but to his sorrow it did not prove a success.⁵ In 1879, after an existence of only two years, it was discontinued.⁶

Although Hasselquist had not approved of the publication of *Skaffaren* by the Minnesota Conference, when this paper began to work for temperance,⁷ Rev. L. G. Almén, the editor, showed a determination to secure Hasselquist's approval by ridiculing the lukewarm stand taken by *Hemlandet*,⁸ by advocating "Biblical Temperance,"⁹ and by seeking Hasselquist's approval of its many temperance articles.¹⁰ Almén republished Hasselquist's *Augustana* article entitled, "The True Friends of Labor," in which temperance was

¹ *Augustana*, 1876, No. 10.

² *Skandia*, Feb. 13, 1878.

³ *Shibboleth*, 1879, Nos. 3, 4.

⁴ *Ibid*, 1878, Nos. 5, 7; 1879, No. 1.

⁵ *Augustana och Missionären*, Jan. 29, 1879.

⁶ *Svenska Tribunen*, Jan. 21, 1880.

⁷ *Ibid*, March 31, 1880.

⁸ *Skaffaren*, June 16, 1886.

⁹ *Ibid*, June 9, 1886.

¹⁰ L. G. Almén to Hasselquist, New London, Minn., Feb. 27, 1886.

lauded as one of the chief friends.¹ Perhaps no one reflected Hasselquist's temperance views more truly, and therefore he extended the desired praise, urging Almén to continue to work for the absolute prohibition of the manufacture of alcoholic beverages, except for medicinal purposes.² Hasselquist gave Almén credit for being largely responsible for the strong temperance feeling among the Swedes of Minnesota.³

Other temperance papers were in the making. C. A. Wenngren had for a period of years attended Augustana College where he had come under the influence of the Hasselquistian spirit of the Synod. He later was the editor of *Svenska Härelden* of Salina, Kansas, during the years from 1879 to 1884, and when this paper was discontinued, he edited *Folkets Vän* in Stromsburg, Nebraska, from 1885 to 1886.⁴ Hasselquist's correspondence during these years is not entirely preserved, but there is evidence he was interested in Wenngren's work for the cause,⁵ at least until *Folkets Vän* broke away from the Republican fold and joined the Prohibition Party.⁶ In the late eighties and the early nineties the influence of Hasselquist in the matter of "Biblical Temperance" can be traced in a number of pro-Augustana papers, and especially in *Framåt*, whose editor was Rev. C. A. Swensson. Swensson's great admiration for Hasselquist can be easily seen in *Vid Hemmets Hård, Förgät Mig Ej, Jubel-Album* and many other literary productions.⁷ But due to the speculative character of such a study and the lack of sufficient evidence, an attempt to trace this influence beyond the periodicals already mentioned will not be undertaken.

But, on the whole, there is no lack of evidence as to Hasselquist's influence on the position taken by the Augustana Synod in the matter of temperance. It is true that Dr. C. A. Swensson, who should be an authority on the

¹ Skaffaren, June 9, 1886.

² L. G. Almén to Hasselquist, New London, Minn., March 30, 1886.

³ Augustana och Missionären, May 31, 1888.

⁴ Skarstedt, Våra Pennfäktare, p. 195.

⁵ C. A. Wenngren to Hasselquist, Stromsburg, Neb., March 16, 1887.

⁶ Svenska Tribunen, May 7, 1887.

⁷ Framåt, Aug. 6, 1890.

subject, claims that the Augustana Synod did not advocate absolute temperance enforced by law, or prohibition.¹ It may be that Dr. Swensson draws a very fine, but not apparent, distinction between the temperance advocated by the Synod and the general temperance movement in the United States, as he certainly had not forgotten his own strong literature on the subject, as well as the fact that he favored prohibition in 1890.² The Synod nursed by Haselquist took a definite stand against intemperance, and members found guilty of drunkenness were suspended from the congregations of the Synod.³ Hundreds of lectures were delivered by its ministers on "Biblical Temperance,"⁴ and even as early as 1875 it recommended that all the ministers should preach "that salvation was dependent upon temperance, and that moderate indulgence in alcoholic beverages was a wide door to drunkenness." They were urged that the church discipline on the matter should be severely administered.⁵ In order that they might be reached before any damage was done, immigrants landing in New York were greeted by a printed warning against over-indulgence in liquor.⁶ In 1882, when the Synod was requested to express its views on the proposed prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the State of Iowa, it was resolved "to say to the good people of Iowa,—God speed the cause of Temperance, and may the proposed amendment be carried by an overwhelming majority on the 27th of June, 1882." The resolution further stated "that we regard it the duty of the Christian Church to see to it, that all her members lead a strictly temperate life, and may the people of Iowa learn, that the Word of God teaches true Temperance," and "that we regard it the duty of every one who has the right of suffrage to vote in accord with Temperance, and thus remove the tempting cup from perishing thousands."⁷ A similar resolution was passed in 1889, when

¹ Swensson, I Sverige, p. 233.

² Framåt, Aug. 6, 1890.

³ The Lutheran Observer, July 22, 1870.

⁴ Hemlandet, June 30, 1874.

⁵ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1875, p. 14.

⁶ Hålsningsord till den Svenske Emigranten.

⁷ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1882.

an attempt was made in Pennsylvania to secure a prohibition amendment.¹ When the same question was raised in Nebraska, the Augustana Synod showed great interest, and one of its ministers, Rev. P. J. Brodine, was an outstanding spokesman for the cause among the Swedes.² This evidence clearly suggests the fact that the Synod was committed to Prohibition, an attitude which it has retained to the present day. As a church organization, it fully approves of the Eighteenth Amendment.³

The influence of Hasselquist upon the Augustana Synod can be traced in another respect. Due to religious scruples, he was unable to support temperance organizations which were secret societies. Therefore, he had no sympathy for the "Sons of Temperance," an organization of the fifties.⁴ Neither did he approve of the "Good Templars,"⁵ who attracted a great following after the Civil War. They declared in *The New Republic* that as Christ had begun His work in Jerusalem, the work of these societies should begin with reforming the Church by opposing the use of wine in the Sacrament of the Altar. This gave rise to *Hemlandet's* query, "Should We Be Wiser Than the Lord?"⁶ It would seem that no Swedish Good Templar lodge existed before 1873.⁷ These lodges perhaps did not gain the popularity among the Swedes in America that they enjoyed in Sweden, but Enander feared that Hasselquist's and the Synod's opposition to them would seriously affect the growth of the Synod, when among the immigrants there appeared great numbers who had joined these lodges in Sweden.⁸ But Hasselquist was not willing to modify his views, and when the temperance paper *Frihet och Fångenskap* appeared in 1880, he carefully examined it,⁹ but refused to recommend it because he was convinced that it was not an anti-

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1889, pp. 83-84.

² Framåt, June 18, 1890.

³ Resolution passed at the Synodical Convention at Rock Island, June, 1930.

⁴ Hemlandet, May 4, 1855.

⁵ Augustana och Missionären, June 19, 1882.

⁶ Hemlandet, May 7, 1867.

⁷ Ericson, Adolph Peterson, p. 16.

⁸ John A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Dec. 18, 1880.

⁹ Augustana och Missionären, March 10, 1880.

secret society organ.¹ The Templar lodges in America were aware of the opposition of Hasselquist and the Synod. They tried to win the approval of both by discarding part of the secrecy, and retaining the old secret customs only for those who desired them. But such half-way measures, as well as the fact that these organizations held their meetings on Sunday, were sufficient reasons to cause Hasselquist, in behalf of the Synod, to refuse to coöperate.² In the mind of Hasselquist the cause of temperance was so beneficial that it should be agitated in the open. Secrecy, moreover, was sinful, and instead of modifying his attitude he began to denounce the order as irreligious, claiming that undoubtedly the rites performed at the meetings were evil, and the effects of the movement demoralizing.³ Even during his last year as editor of *Augustana*, he showed that he was still uncompromising by refusing to recommend the temperance paper *Hemfrid*, because it was controlled by the Good Templars.⁴

Secrecy was a sin, and through the instrument of *Hemlandet*,⁵ *Rätta Hemlandet* and *Augustana*, Hasselquist denounced secret societies.⁶ Newspapers that were affected by his temperance propaganda were also influenced by his opposition to these organizations.⁷ Hasselquist especially attacked the Freemasons,⁸ and it is a significant fact that the first Freemason lodge among the Swedes in America was not organized until many years after his death.⁹ There was a very close relationship between Dr. J. Blanchard, the editor of *Christian Cynosure*, a pronounced anti-secret society and pro-temperance paper, and Hasselquist; and the latter often found articles in this journal which he con-

¹ *Augustana och Missionären*, June 16, 1880.

² *Ibid.*, Oct. 8, 1884.

³ *Ibid.*, March 29, 1888.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1889.

⁵ *Hemlandet*, May 4, 1855.

⁶ *Augustana*, Dec., 1868; *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, Dec., 1870, July, 1872; *Augustana*, 1875, No. 4; *Augustana och Missionären*, March 23, 1881, etc.

⁷ *Svenska Tribunen*, March 31, 1889; *Shibboleth*, 1878, No. 1; *Framåt*, April 1, 1891.

⁸ See footnote 6 and *Rätta Hemlandet*, Oct., 1873; Feb. and March, 1873; *Augustana och Missionären*, May 16, Aug. 15, 1889, etc.

⁹ Peterson, *Sverige i Amerika*, p. 411.

sidered proper for republication in his *Augustana*.¹ Conversely, Hasselquist must also have exerted some influence on this American organ, as the two editors had been good friends since the time they had both lived in Galesburg.² In fact, in 1890, the *Christian Cynosure* "canonized" Hasselquist because of his stand on this issue.³ From the first appearance of *Hemlandet* in 1855 to less than a week before his death in 1891, Hasselquist fought this war against what he called "Modern Slavery," and this continued attack could not have been without some results.⁴ Due to his insistence, the Synod formally opposed these organizations,⁵ although it was in turn criticized by that part of the Swedish-American Press which favored them.⁶ His continual criticism of non-Lutheran denominations for their friendly or neutral stand on the subject may also have had some effect upon the Swedish Methodists, whose paper, perhaps due to the influence of Hasselquist, expressed the hope that even if the American Methodists approved of secret societies, the Swedish Methodist Church would exclude those who were members of such organizations.⁷ Even the Augustana Synod itself did not go to the extreme of exclusion,⁸ although the Minutes of the Synod showed no modifications of its position.⁹

The influence of Hasselquist with respect to temperance and secret societies had some very interesting effects upon political opinion in Swedish-American circles and especially in the Augustana Synod. He had, in pre-Civil War times, associated the Democratic Party with corruption and drunkenness,¹⁰ stating that the Republicans were friendly to the temperance cause, while the Democratic Party opposed it.¹¹ This idea even crept into *Augustana och Mis-*

¹ *Augustana och Missionären*, Aug. 16, 1885.

² Rev. J. Blanchard to Hasselquist, Wheaton, Ill., Sept. 12, 1890.

³ Hasselquist to Blanchard, Rock Island, Ill., Sept. 10, 1890.

⁴ *Augustana*, Jan. 29, 1891.

⁵ *Skandia*, Feb. 13, 1878.

⁶ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Rock Island, Ill., March 12, 1881.

⁷ *Augustana*, 1875, No. 6.

⁸ J. V. Söderman to Hasselquist, Lowell, Mass., Dec. 31, 1890.

⁹ *Augustana Synod, Protokoll*, 1890, p. 26.

¹⁰ *Hemlandet*, Oct. 22, 1857.

¹¹ *Augustana och Missionären*, Nov. 22, 1882; July 12, 1888.

sionären, a journal in which he earnestly endeavored to print only religious articles. This had also been repeated by *Hemlandet*, in which in 1866 a Democrat was defined as "a man who drinks regularly, and who would vote for Beelzebub if he were on the ticket."¹ Temperance was taken so seriously that L. G. Almén, editor of *Skaffaren* and at one time president of the Swedish branch of the Scandinavian Temperance Society, severed all connections with the organization when a number of the members became dissatisfied with the attitude of the Republican Party toward temperance and advocated the Prohibition Party as the only solution.² He firmly believed that if the Prohibition Party were supported by good Republicans, it would mean a Democratic victory.³ After this act of Almén's the Swedish branch did not meet for several years, although *Svensk-Amerikanska Posten*, which had joined the Prohibition Party, tried to revive the Society, and Rev. J. Ternstedt, who was the sponsor of this paper, succeeded in resurrecting the Swedish branch of the Scandinavian Temperance Society in 1891.⁴ However, behind Almén stood Hasselquist and the Synod, and in 1888 Erland Carlsson, as president of the Synod, could say, "We are nearly all good Republicans."⁵

All faithful Swedish Republicans had looked upon third party movements as essentially destructive, and the defeat of the Republican candidate for the Presidency in 1884 was attributed to the Prohibition advocates.⁶ The loyalty of the Augustana Synod to the Republican Party was more intense because of the association of secrecy with some of the third party movements, and because of the ultraconservatism of *Hemlandet*. It was the principle of secrecy that caused Hasselquist to denounce the Know-Nothing

¹ *Hemlandet*, Nov. 27, 1866. Hasselquist was always faithful to the Republican Party, except at two times, once in a city election in Rock Island, and again when he voted for a Democratic Congressman in recognition of and gratitude for a gift which the candidate's father had given to Augustana College and Seminary. *Hemlandet*, April 16, 1887. Interview, Dr. C. W. Foss, Nov. 22, 1929.

² *Skaffaren*, Sept. 15, 1886.

³ *Ibid*, Nov. 22, 1886.

⁴ *Ibid*, Jan. 29, 1891.

⁵ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1888, p. 23.

⁶ *Svenska Tribunen*, Dec. 10, 1884.

Party, and the Synod to censure the Patrons of Husbandry (or the Granges), even though the members of the Synod belonged principally to the agricultural class.¹ Hasselquist sympathized with the farmers in their economic plight and in their struggle against monopolies, but he claimed that the Patrons of Husbandry were not only antimonopolists and an organized political body but a social group as well. It permitted both men and women to join; Jews and unbelievers were allowed to mingle with the Christians; and it had nothing to say in favor of Christianity. It was also a secret organization about which Hasselquist wrote, "This secrecy sickness is a muddy water in which the murderer from the beginning will not fail to fish."² He argued that it was better for the Swedish farmers to suffer losses than to join such a body, as the good cause for which they fought was lost in the evils of secrecy.³

As the movement spread among the Swedes, ministers wrote to their leader, asking for advice, and in reply Hasselquist warned them not to be friendly to the Granges,⁴ and stated that opposition to them was justified on Christian principles.⁵ Other denominations held this same view. In addition to *The Christian Cynosure*, a German paper, *Der Lutheraner*, denounced the secrecy of the Granges; the United Brethren, as well as the Presbyterian Synod, took the same stand at a meeting held at Philadelphia;⁶ and the United Presbyterian congregation at Keokuk, Iowa, excommunicated members who belonged to the Grange.⁷ Hasselquist's views were generally accepted within the Synod, and some persons who had already joined a Grange withdrew.⁸ In 1875 Hasselquist claimed that he had heard of only one Swedish farmer who belonged to the Grange.⁹ He was, however, not satisfied with mere propaganda but

¹ Nya Verlden, July 7, 1873.

² Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, Sept. 1872.

³ Ibid, July, 1873.

⁴ Hasselquist to Rev. M. Sandell, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 20, 1874.

⁵ John A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., May 2, 1874.

⁶ Augustana, 1874, No. 12.

⁷ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, July, 1873.

⁸ O. Olsson to E. Norelius, Lindsborg, Kans., April 1, 1874.

⁹ Augustana, 1875, No. 4.

desired that the Synod should take a definite stand against the movement, in 1874 urging the pastors to select the lay delegates from among the anti-secret society men in order that the Constitution of the Synod might be enforced insofar as it concerned this matter.¹ The Synod approved of this move, and if its minutes are to be believed, the Granger movement did not invade the membership of the Synod. Many of the congregations showed a strong anti-everything-secret feeling.²

In the next decade, the Farmers' Alliances, which became so popular during 1888-1890,³ were also considered an evil. Many faithful Swedish Lutherans had joined this movement when it first began, and when a minister in Stockholm, Kansas, reprimanded some of his members for this, they answered, "Last spring, Professor Hasselquist said that he knew nothing about the Farmers' Alliances or whether or not there was danger in joining them." The minister decided to let the matter drop for the present, and waited for Hasselquist to express his opinion in *Augustana*.⁴ But Hasselquist was not the Hasselquist of the seventies, and though his zeal against secrecy had not waned, he seemingly preferred peace and quiet,⁵ allowing others to carry on the war against the Farmers' Alliances.⁶

Being so ultraconservative, Hasselquist naturally condemned Socialism and Communism⁷ as godless and immoral.⁸ Strikes were considered unnecessary, and positively harmful in that they often led to violence and the destruction of property. Hasselquist warned the Swedish workers against the Knights of Labor,⁹ and was prepared to bring up the question of membership before the Synod, just as he had previously forced a consideration of the Granger Movement, even though it was "like bringing up

¹ Hasselquist to Rev. C. P. Rydholm, Paxton, Ill., May 12, 1874.

² *Augustana Synod*, Protokoll, 1875, p. 11.

³ *Framåt*, Dec. 17, 1890.

⁴ John A. Anderson to Hasselquist, Stockholm, Kansas, Oct. 14, 1890.

⁵ *Augustana*, Jan. 29, 1890.

⁶ *Ibid*, Jan. 9, 1890; *Framåt*, June, 1890.

⁷ *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, May, 1871.

⁸ *Augustana*, 1874, No. 7.

⁹ *Skaffaren*, June 9, 1886; *Augustana och Missionären*, April 15, May 26, 1886, etc.

the Augsburg Confession for approval every year.”¹ His views were accepted by the Synod;² *Hemlandet* shared them³ and did not hesitate to condemn the Greenback Party, upon his suggestion.⁴ The paper stood for specie payments,⁵ for protection as a cure for nearly all evils, faithfulness to the Republican Party,⁶ and, like Hasselquist, it looked with suspicion upon reforms. He had no sympathy for the so-called political emancipation of women, because their place was “at home,”⁷ and to this *Hemlandet* said “Amen.”⁸ The tone of the Swedish-American press was set by the pioneer journal and has been overwhelmingly Republican. The *Skandinavisk Post*, it is true, was Democratic, but according to *Hemlandet*, “no respectable Swede could read it.”⁹ *Nordstjernan* was neutral for some time, but later joined the Republican ranks.¹⁰ There were undoubtedly a few other neutral and Third Party papers, and pro-Democratic papers, not to mention the radical communistic paper, *Rothuggaren*, which promised “to abolish poverty, ignorance, meanness, unchastity, drunkenness, injustice, chicanery, and all evil,”¹¹ but their influence was not great.

In order more clearly to emphasize the policies of Hasselquist’s organ, a brief comparison of the two outstanding rivals, namely, *Svenska Amerikanaren* and *Svenska Tribunnen*, with *Hemlandet* will be attempted. The former supported free trade,¹² and always favored an eight-hour day to the horror of *Hemlandet*,¹³ in whose eyes this paper never had a good reputation.¹⁴ Later a new *Svenska Amerikanaren*, which was pronounced in its friendliness to labor, appeared. It was Republican in its sentiment except on a

¹ Hasselquist to P. Sjöblom, Rock Island, Ill., May 5, 1887.

² Augustana, June 5, 1890.

³ *Hemlandet*, Aug. 1, 8, 1877; Jan. 1, 1885; March 17, 1886.

⁴ Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., March 18, 1878.

⁵ *Hemlandet*, Oct. 20, 1874; Oct. 8, 1875; March 12, May 7, 1879.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1888; April 7, May 26, 1888.

⁷ Augustana, 1876, No. 10.

⁸ *Hemlandet*, Feb. 26, 1891.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Dec. 1, 1868.

¹⁰ *Nordstjernan*, Sept. 21, 1872; Oct. 25, 1888.

¹¹ Skarstedt, *Våra Pennfäktare*, pp. 203–204.

¹² *Hemlandet*, Nov. 26, 1867.

¹³ *Ibid.*, May 28, 1867.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, March 28, 1871.

few occasions, as in 1876, when it supported Tilden.¹ But it could not sanction protection and was more apt to be influenced by popular movements in the West, such as the agitation for cheap money.² *Svenska Tribunen* began its history as *The Illinois Swede*, a staunch Republican organ,³ but later changed its name to *Nya Verlden*.⁴ In 1872 it fell victim to the reform propaganda and supported the Liberal Republican Party.⁵ Thus it also became guilty of party looseness.⁶ Before the election of Hayes in 1876, the name of this paper was changed to *Svenska Tribunen* and it was again restored to good standing in the Republican Party.⁷ However, it rejoiced in being termed a "liberal newspaper."⁸ The editors were shrewd and more tactful in their war against the Augustana Synod and thus appealed to a wider audience. Nevertheless, Hasselquist described it as "devilish to the highest degree."⁹ But in many respects it was quite cautious. *Hemlandet* had condemned the Silver Purchase Act of 1878, being one of the few papers having a rural constituency in the West that dared to urge "sound money and sound prosperity." Although it believed in bi-metallism, it insisted that this policy should be based on an equalizing scale in which the silver should not be overvalued. In 1878 *Svenska Tribunen* expressed itself in favor of the Act but came out in the eighties supporting a sounder policy than that of *Hemlandet*, namely, a gold standard.¹⁰ It expressed a friendliness toward labor and unlike *Hemlandet* it had a good word to say for the "Knights of Labor," though it did not go as far as *Svenska Amerikanaren* in this respect.¹¹ *Svenska Tribunen* advocated a just equality between men and women, while *Hemlandet* limited its support of the women's cause to advocating "greater educa-

¹ *Svenska Amerikanaren*, Dec. 4, 1890.

² J. A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 13, 1876.

³ *Svenska Amerikanaren*, Dec. 5, 1889; Dec. 26, 1885.

⁴ *The Illinois Swede*, June 18, 1870.

⁵ *Nya Verlden*, Nov. 4, 1870.

⁶ *Hemlandet*, June 18, 1872; *Nya Verlden*, April 14, 1873; June 16, 30, 1873.

⁷ Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., Nov. 13, 1876; *Svenska Tribunen*, May 22, 1878.

⁸ *Svenska Tribunen*, Aug. 27, 1884.

⁹ *Augustana och Missionären*, Feb. 4, 1884.

¹⁰ *Hemlandet*, Jan. 6, 1886; Sept. 30, 1885; Oct. 14, 1885.

tional opportunities for women.”¹ *Svenska Tribunen*, like *Svenska Amerikanaren*, opposed protection.² Like *Hemlandet*, all other pro-Augustana newspapers were pro-Republican Party papers, and their extreme conservative stand reflected the influence of Hasselquist.

Whatever the views of the anti-Augustana Synod newspapers were, *Hemlandet*, during the life of Hasselquist, remained faithful to the conservatism and puritanism of the Swedish leader, and, naturally, the Swedish-American press could not afford to discredit this influence, as the Synod gradually increased in numbers and strength.³ When the chastiser of the Swedish-American press died, this group from coast to coast paid him tribute, and *Svenska Kuriren*, one of the few newspapers that had not changed in its hostile attitude to the Synod, had only praise for Hasselquist after his death, claiming that his influence had been felt by all classes and the holders of all kinds of opinions.⁴

¹ *Hemlandet*, Jan. 6, 1886; *Nya Verlden*, July 24, 1873.

² *Svenska Tribunen*, Dec. 19, 1885.

³ *Framåt*, Feb. 25, 1891.

⁴ *Svenska Kuriren*, Feb. 12, 1891.

CHAPTER XIII

HASSELQUIST'S INFLUENCE IN SWEDEN AND AMERICA

Hasselquist had been in America only a short time when he realized that, if the Swedish Lutheran Church was to grow or even to continue its existence in the face of the intense proselyting, certain ties with Sweden must be maintained. Due to the imperative need of more ministers, he appealed in 1853 to the influential clergyman, Dr. P. Fjellstedt of Sweden, for help.¹ Throughout the formative period the church was obliged to depend upon the so-called "licensed preachers" who were usually men of very little ability.² When this period had passed and Augustana College and Seminary had been established, this did not mean that the Synod did not need any recruits from Sweden, as the increasing immigration after the Civil War more than absorbed the products, many of whom came through with only a hurried education.³ Therefore, Hasselquist felt that as long as the Synod was unable to produce an efficient and educated clergy, it was necessary to obtain able men capable of leadership from the mother church.⁴ This policy he continued to follow, even when in 1881 what was probably a growing Americanism caused Rev. Eric Norelius to ask him to give it up. Although he acknowledged the correctness of the principle set forth by Norelius, he refused to "completely close that door."⁵

There was a second reason that prompted a close connection with Sweden. The small Swedish Lutheran Church was not only handicapped in its work by the lack of pastors, but there was a distinct economic difficulty. The Swedish immigrants were poor, and the ministers were paid only meager salaries. On the other hand, the Re-

¹ Korsbaneret, 1881, pp. 81-82.

² P. A. Cederstam to Hasselquist, St. Peter, Minn., undated.

³ Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., May 8, 1868.

⁴ Ibid, May 31, 1869.

⁵ Augustana och Missionären, July 27, 1881.

formed Churches, in their proselyting activities, received the support of American Reformed Churches and this naturally handicapped somewhat the growth of the Swedish Lutheran Church, as it afforded an inducement to join these rather than those of the Augustana Synod.¹ A third and probably less important reason for Hasselquist's policy was the attempt made by the Episcopal Church to secure the assistance of the Swedish State Church in winning the Swedish immigrants for their organization.² Sentiment may also have played its part. Throughout his life, Hasselquist watched the religious movements in Sweden with interest, as he felt that these movements would, through emigration, ultimately affect the Augustana Synod.³

To what extent was Hasselquist successful in this policy? Did he secure any help from Sweden; was he able to overcome the propaganda of the Episcopal Church? His first appeal to Dr. P. Fjellstedt resulted in the arrival of the able Rev. Erland Carlsson in 1853,⁴ and thereafter Fjellstedt was the recognized medium through whom calls were extended. Very few pastors were secured in this way, but it led to a closer association with "Fosterlands Stiftelsen," which coöperated with Fjellstedt in securing men and money.⁵ *Hemlandet* also formed an important connecting link between the New and the Old World.⁶ Through the friendly relationship established with *Wäktaren*, the influential Swedish journal, the needs of the struggling church were presented.⁷ Although these needs were undoubtedly recognized in Sweden, the response was not great. There was at the time a lack of ministers within the Swedish State Church,⁸ and among the ministers, the majority were satisfied with the conditions in Sweden and did not care to

¹ P. A. Cederstam to Hasselquist, St. Peter, Minn., Jan. 22, 1860.

² Olson, *The Swedish Element in Illinois*, pp. 90-91.

³ Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., May 31, 1869.

⁴ *Korsbaneret*, 1881, pp. 81-82. "Den Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen" was organized in 1856 by a number of clergymen and laymen in Sweden for the purpose of stimulating evangelism through colporteurs. Montelius, *Sveriges Historia*, Vol. VI, p. 212.

⁵ *Hemlandet*, Oct. 8, 1857.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. 28, 1855.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1857.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Nov. 21, 1856.

sacrifice their positions for an uncertain future in America.¹ In 1870, Hasselquist lamented the fact that Sweden had supplied the churches in America with only six ordained ministers and of these, two had returned to their native land.² In this number Rev. Karlén was not included, because of his unfortunate connection with the Synod, nor Rev. P. J. Swärd, who arrived later and whose connection with the Synod makes seven, the sum total ordained ministers contributed to the Augustana Synod by Sweden.³ It is plain that the Swedish State Church had very little, if any, sympathy with the Synod.⁴

Unable to secure any appreciable number of ordained ministers, Hasselquist began to negotiate for students. In this he was more successful.⁵ From a number of "evangelistic" schools, such as P. A. Ahlberg's School, Fosterlands Stiftelsens School, and P. Fjellstedt's School,⁶ students came to Augustana Seminary to receive their ministerial training.⁷ Ahlberg's School practically became a preparatory department for the Augustana Seminary.⁸ Among the friends of the Synod in Sweden there was no one who exerted himself more than Ahlberg, and no one accomplished more. In 1866, he had become so aroused by Hasselquist's continual appeals for help that he was on the verge of leaving Sweden to join the Augustana Synod, but Hasselquist requested that he stay, as he was able to do more for the Synod in Sweden than he could do in the United States.⁹ By 1872, Ahlberg's work in this cause had brought such large numerical results that Hasselquist was compelled to warn him that all students were not competent to become ministers and that in addition to a willingness to be educated, there must be a willingness to serve and sacrifice.¹⁰ When the friendship of others had cooled, when

¹ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, September, 1870.

² Ibid.

³ J. P. Swärd to Hasselquist, Brooklyn, N. Y., March 27, 1874.

⁴ Hasselquist to O. C. T. Andrén, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 23, 1868.

⁵ General Council Convention, Minutes, 1882, p. 31.

⁶ Hasselquist to P. A. Ahlberg, Paxton, Ill., April 17, 1864.

⁷ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1864, p. 6.

⁸ Augustana College and Seminary, Catalogues, 1870-1885.

⁹ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 20, 1866.

¹⁰ Hasselquist to P. A. Ahlberg, Paxton, Ill., April 28, 1872.

death had deprived Hasselquist of the assistance of Wieselgren and Fjellstedt, Ahlberg remained almost his sole supporter. He assisted the Synod by sending books, men and money.¹ Had the Synod, in turn, been able to help support Fjellstedt's School and Ahlberg's School, they would have become, in fact, real preparatory schools of the Synod. As it was, in 1882, Ahlberg conducted a special class for those who had in mind emigration and service with the Synod.² Gradually, however, these ties of friendship and coöperation were broken. When Ahlberg died in 1887,³ on the part of the Synod these connections had become less desirable. In the earlier years piety had been the only requirement for the ministry, but now the educational standards of the Synod had become so high that in 1885 students arriving from Ahlberg's School were compelled to enter the preparatory department, being considered not yet capable of carrying on work of college grade.⁴

From the financial point of view Hasselquist's policy fared little better. In 1859, a petition addressed to the King of Sweden, requesting permission to take up collections in the various churches in Sweden for the Scandinavian professorship at Illinois State University, was flatly refused.⁵ Archbishop Reuterdahl was universally blamed for this refusal, and undoubtedly the primate cared little for the pietistic free-churchly Swedish Lutherans of America.⁶ He may also have been aware of the fact that in 1856 Hasselquist had deplored his appointment to his high position.⁷ This experience was, however, soon forgotten. When the Swedes separated from the Northern Illinois Synod, they realized more than ever that they were dependent upon financial help from Sweden, if they were to establish and maintain an educational institution. They had now cleared themselves of the charge of Calvinism and heresy that might have been associated with them as long

¹ Hasselquist to "Käre Broder," Rock Island, Ill., Dec. 31, 1877.

² Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1882, pp. 13-14, 37.

³ Augustana och Missionären, Aug. 4, 1887.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1882, p. 48.

⁵ Hemlandet, May 11, 1859.

⁶ Ibid, May 18, 1859.

⁷ Ibid, June 14, 1856.

as they were connected with the Northern Illinois Synod. But because of this separation they could no longer expect assistance from the American Lutherans, and it was logical to appeal to the Church of Sweden, of which they could now claim to be a daughter church.¹ Hasselquist was appointed an emissary to Sweden and when he declined, the duty fell upon Rev. O. C. T. Andrén. Reuterdaahl, however, again showed that he was not in sympathy with the proposed policy of granting aid to the Augustana Synod, but through an audience with the King and the support of Dr. P. Fjellstedt, the petition was granted, and collections were taken up in the churches of Sweden for the benefit of Augustana Seminary.²

O. C. T. Andrén's reception and the contributions received from Sweden indicated that many in Sweden were interested in the progress of the Synod, and it is likely that without this financial assistance, the Synod would never have been in a position to support or maintain the Seminary immediately after 1860. The King donated 5,000 volumes toward a library, and the actual amount of money received exceeded \$10,000.³

That the Augustana Synod had won the friendship of the high-churchly in Sweden is doubtful. It is more likely that the already existing friendship with the "free-churchly" was strengthened.⁴ The free-churchly had even before 1860 offered the Swedish Lutherans in America some financial help⁵ and this friendship was a more natural one, as Hasselquist himself had once been closely connected with the movement, and after his arrival in America he remained interested in its continued development.⁶ Failing, therefore, to win the approval of the State Church as a body, failing to stir up its sympathy for the Synod, the latter clung to its old friends and from this source the greatest amount of help was expected. It is impossible to over-emphasize the part the contributions received from this

¹ Stephenson, an unpublished manuscript, "Unonius."

² Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, October, 1872.

³ Norelius, *Ev. Lutherska Augustana-synoden i Nord Amerika*, pp. 28-29.

⁴ *The Missionary*, May 30, 1861.

⁵ *Tidskrift*, 1899, p. 109.

⁶ *Hemlandet*, Dec. 3, 1857.

source played in the growth and development of the Synod. In 1861-1862, the Synod was able to raise only \$15.65 for home missionary work, and this naturally handicapped its expansion.¹ During the following year only \$3.50 was raised within the Synod, and it was a gift of \$421.00 from Fosterlands Stiftelsen that alone made possible the employment of a missionary.² From time to time checks were received by the Augustana Synod from this center of pietism and free-churchliness in Sweden,³ as well as from Gustaf Adolf Stiftelsen, which for a long period of years sent small contributions to the Synod,⁴ and in return the Augustana Synod, too small and unable to have a foreign mission field, gave smaller contributions for a number of years to the Fosterlands Stiftelsen, to be used for its Foreign Missions.⁵ In addition to these regular contributions, a check of \$3,969.31 was received in 1867 from Sweden by the Gustavus Adolphus congregation in New York, a gift which saved it from bankruptcy.⁶

In other respects Hasselquist was not so successful. His articles in *Augustana*, as well as his letters to Sweden, picturing the sufferings of the Swedish Lutherans in Chicago after the Great Fire in 1871 had very little effect in Sweden,⁷ and it became necessary in 1873 to send Rev. Erland Carlsson to Sweden to appeal for help for the Swedish Lutherans in Chicago in order to enable them to build another church.⁸ The fire had also brought a great financial loss to the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society, whose position had become extremely critical, due to an intense opposition toward this institution on the part of the Minnesota Conference. Hasselquist, therefore, tried to save the Publication Society by appealing for a loan from Sweden, which, however, failed.⁹ This failure, which probably led

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1862, p. 15.

² Ibid, 1863, p. 21.

³ Hasselquist to Rev. A. Waetter, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 4, 1868.

⁴ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1889.

⁵ Ibid, 1863-1874.

⁶ Hemlandet, Aug. 6, 1867.

⁷ Hasselquist to P. Fjellstedt, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 2, 1872.

⁸ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, November, 1873.

⁹ Hasselquist to P. Fjellstedt, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 2, 1872.

to the forced sale of the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society, did not discourage Hasselquist, and in 1875 he was appealing for a loan for the College and the Seminary, which would have provided that institution with a second building. But again he failed.¹

Feeble efforts were early made by Hasselquist to gain official recognition by the State Church, but nothing had been accomplished.² In 1868 several factors led Hasselquist to seek a closer connection with the "Mother Church." He believed that a distinct favoritism had been shown the Episcopal Church by the State Church of Sweden at the expense of the Augustana Synod.³ Hasselquist himself, who was gradually becoming more conservative, was beginning to look upon the free-church movement in Sweden with suspicion.⁴ He had also been anxious to join the American but high-churchly General Council, and before this had taken place, this body had urged Hasselquist to seek a closer understanding with the State Church of Sweden.⁵ As Hasselquist set out upon this new policy, he could look back only upon years of failure. Several calls had been extended to ordained ministers, but they had all declined except the "worthless" Karlén, who had caused more sorrow and grief than good.⁶

The Episcopal Church in America had loomed as a threatening cloud in Hasselquist's imagination for some time, and it remained a cloud that seemed never to fully disappear. Hasselquist might have had some reasons for his fears, but they were undoubtedly exaggerated because of his early experiences. The rivalry with G. Unonius in the fifties had been very keen. In 1859, when the petition for financial support in the establishment of a Scandinavian Professorship was denied, the already existing strained relations with the Episcopal Church were intensified, as it was believed that Unonius had exerted his influence against

¹ Hasselquist to E. N. Jörlander, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 20, 1875.

² Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 11, 1868.

³ Hasselquist to O. C. T. Andrén, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 23, 1868.

⁴ Augustana och Missionären, Aug. 24, 1887.

⁵ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 11, 1868.

⁶ Hasselquist to O. C. T. Andrén, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 23, 1868.

the granting of the petition.¹ The *Cleri Comitalis*, a circular sent out by the clergy during the parliament of 1864–65 to the clergy of Sweden, recommending Swedish emigrants to the “Bishops and Ministers of the Episcopal Church of North America,” inspired also a great deal of fear within the Augustana Synod, although Dr. S. G. Youngert of the Augustana Synod believes that this recommendation was urged by very few ministers in Sweden.² The climax was reached in 1867, when Bishop Whitehouse of the American Episcopal Church visited Sweden, had communion with the Archbishop, and, according to general report, received the promise that the Swedish emigrants would be advised to join the Episcopal Church. A new Swedish-American newspaper had also been started, namely, *Svensk-Amerikanaren*, which Hasselquist believed was associated with the Episcopal Church and that through this agency the Episcopal Church might now be more successful in its proselyting.³ Finally, the visit of another Episcopal minister to Sweden in 1871 led Hasselquist to believe that the Episcopal Church was attempting to extend its authority over the Augustana Synod, as this emissary (a Dr. Tustin of Grand Rapids, Michigan) proposed that the Swedish Church should send a bishop to America.⁴

Thus urged on by fear, Hasselquist set out to counteract the possible Episcopal influence in Sweden. First he sought Dr. P. Wieselgren’s advice.⁵ Then he resolved that the best method to strengthen the ties between the Synod and the State Church would be a visit to the Synod by some influential Swedish clergyman who was in sympathy with its work. Ahlberg and Andrén were men who could qualify. It was soon discovered that Ahlberg could not free himself from his school,⁶ and Andrén, due to the difficult journey, declined.⁷ When Rev. Eric Norelius decided, due to failing

¹ Hemlandet, May 18, 1859.

² Tidskrift, 1910, pp. 129–135; Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 3, 1868.

³ Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., April 6, 1867.

⁴ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, May, 1871.

⁵ Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., April 6, 1867.

⁶ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., April 3, 1868.

⁷ Hasselquist to O. C. T. Andrén, Paxton, Ill., May 26, 1868.

health, to visit Sweden, Hasselquist thought his opportunity had come, and a way had been found to overcome the State Church attitude toward the Synod. A celebration was to be held at Lund, Sweden, and many prominent clergymen would be present. Hasselquist requested Norelius to attend this celebration, and he in turn would write to Rev. S. Bring in Sweden recommending Norelius.¹ But everything failed. The President of the General Council continued to urge a direct connection between the Synod and State Church, but Hasselquist was unable to establish such a connection, as the Archbishop of Sweden remained unfriendly, because the Synod had no bishops and the Lutheran Church in America had gained a reputation for loose doctrines and extravagance. Hasselquist would even have been willing to appeal to the King, but thought this move would lead to no results, and attempts to approach the bishops of Sweden, who shared the views of the Archbishop, were hopeless.²

Augustana Synod's close connection with the free-church movement in Sweden had done much to prevent support being extended by the high-churchly. But in 1870, when Hasselquist visited Sweden, his attitude surprised those who had known him in earlier years. It was not the Hasselquist of 1852 who spoke but the Hasselquist of 1870, whose conservatism could be compared favorably with the ultraconservatism prevailing in Sweden. On this visit he was fearless, appearing at nearly fifty different places and preaching and lecturing sixty times, not merely asking for the recognition of the Synod but demanding it and rebuking the State Church for its negligence.³ No one before had dared to challenge the evils of the State Church as Hasselquist did, who claimed that it was due to the worldliness of the clergy that the free-church movement in Sweden had gained momentum and caused an excessive and harmful use of colporteurs, and thus fostered the growth of the Reformed Church, the effects of which the Synod had long felt.⁴ His speeches were published in various

¹ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., April 21, 1868.

² Hasselquist to C. W. Schaeffer, Paxton, Ill., Dec. 28, 1868.

³ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, September, 1870.

⁴ Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., May 31, 1869.

papers and widely read, and many acknowledged the truth of his statements.¹ On one occasion he stated, "One may desire it or not, but the day of separation between the State and the Church is rapidly approaching." His challenge was accepted by *Missionstidningen*, which began to publish articles suggesting improvements within the State Church.² *Budbäraren* also took up Hasselquist's challenge.³ It was also at the suggestion of Hasselquist that Rev. P. Welinder, who became a prominent leader of the Evangelical revival movement within the State Church, began the paper *För-samlingsvännen*,⁴ through which Hasselquist urged Welinder to prepare the Swedish people for the day of separation between the State and the Church, yet warning and advising against such a move.⁵ Thus Hasselquist, through his visit, had extended his influence to his native land, and more than any other person, had opened the eyes of the State Church to the dangers that faced it. According to the prominent church leader, K. Almquist, he was in no small way responsible for the continued existence of the State Church of Sweden.⁶

But as for any practical results as far as the Synod was concerned, not much can be said. Hasselquist may have secured a temporary recognition for the Synod, but it soon became evident that the traditional ties with the pietistic group in Sweden still remained stronger than these temporary interests.⁷ It is true that many ordained ministers expressed a desire to come to America, but nearly all of these Hasselquist considered unfit.⁸ His suggestion that some prominent Swedish clergyman, like Bishop F. A. Beckman, should visit the Augustana Synod to strengthen the connections between the Synod and Sweden was not heeded.⁹ The sentiment aroused in 1870 gradually waned. Even Erland Carlsson's visit to Sweden in the interest of the

¹ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, July and August, 1871.

² Ibid, February, 1872.

³ Ibid, March, 1872.

⁴ P. Welinder to Hasselquist, Kristianstad and Asum, Nov. 4, 1870.

⁵ Hasselquist to P. Welinder, Paxton, Ill., Oct. 26, 1873.

⁶ Hasselquist to K. Almquist, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 25, 1875.

⁷ Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana, September, 1870.

⁸ Hasselquist to P. Wieselgren, Paxton, Ill., Aug. 11, 1871.

⁹ Hasselquist to Bishop Beckman, Paxton, Ill., March 19, 1872.

Immanuel Lutheran Church in Chicago and his statement that the Augustana Synod had nothing to do with emigration did not help matters.¹ Hasselquist's affirmations and actions, proving that the Synod was even more Lutheran than the State Church, were of no avail.² The attempt to seek the advice of the Theological Faculty at Uppsala in regard to the question of divorce also proved futile, as the Faculty gave an answer that was "no answer at all."³ As Hasselquist later viewed these failures, he placed the blame for the schism between the Mission Friends and the Synod upon the State Church's refusal to help the Synod.⁴ This is probably an exaggeration, but the fact remains that in the heated strife with the adherents of P. Waldenström, Hasselquist was surrounded with a clergy that was far from efficient and educated, whom he feared might become adherents of Waldenström at any time, and naturally such men he did not dare to send to important mission fields. Through proper support on the part of Sweden in the sending of able men, Hasselquist's dreams of a coast to coast Synod could have been realized much earlier.⁵ The correspondence with prominent men in the State Church, whose friendship Hasselquist had made during his visit in Sweden, became less and less important, and some of these friends had so far lost interest that in 1875 they were not even willing to contribute articles to *Augustana* upon Hasselquist's request.⁶

Although discouraged, Hasselquist stubbornly clung to his old worn-out policy. He wrote to Welinder, "But we will not give up the ship."⁷ In 1878 the Synod could proudly boast that it could show the State Church "how to treat the Waldenströmi-ans."⁸ But nothing was won, and the only noteworthy event was the recognition extended Augustana College in 1878, when its graduates were permitted

¹ Hemlandet, Dec. 23, 1873.

² Hasselquist to F. Lagerman, Paxton, Ill., March 9, 1873.

³ Hasselquist to G. Fritchel, Paxton, Ill., May 2, 1874.

⁴ Hasselquist to Bishop C. G. Bring (Date probably early 1880's).

⁵ Hasselquist to E. Norelius, Paxton, Ill., Nov. 20, 1874.

⁶ Hasselquist to P. Welinder, Paxton, Ill., March 31, 1875.

⁷ Hasselquist to P. Welinder, Rock Island, Ill., Feb. 24, 1877.

⁸ P. Sjöblom to Hasselquist, Red Wing, Minn., Sept. 31, 1878.

to attend the Universities of Uppsala and Lund.¹ Some of Hasselquist's friends in Sweden thought he was going too far in his formalism, but Hasselquist answered that the times necessitated forms.² Down to 1890 Hasselquist tried to keep up some correspondence with Sweden, but the state of affairs is well illustrated by the fact that some ministers in Sweden who were supposedly in sympathy with the Synod were not aware in 1890 that the College and Seminary had been moved from Paxton to Rock Island.³ Although realizing in the late eighties that he had failed, Hasselquist remained anxious to prevent the Synod from taking any step that might create a misunderstanding with the State Church.⁴

The reasons for Hasselquist's almost complete failure in his policy toward the State Church are evident. His early friends had been members of that circle upon which the State Church looked with suspicion and it was from this source that help had been received by the Augustana Synod. Even the friendship of P. Wieselgren could have no important results, as the bishops of Sweden did not hold him in high regard.⁵ Hasselquist had also, during the fifties, written caustic tirades against the State Church, which naturally did not inspire any love.⁶ All emigrants were looked upon in Sweden as "traitors" and "unfaithful sons,"⁷ and by supporting the Augustana Synod it was feared emigration would be encouraged.⁸ There was a distinct lack of ministers in Sweden,⁹ and the State Church naturally was not willing to reduce this number by sending ministers to a "wayward daughter."¹⁰ The high-churchly had no sympathy with the Synod, and the feelings of this body within the State Church is well illustrated by a Swedish bishop

¹ Hemlandet, Jan. 15, 1879.

² Hasselquist to S. L. Bring, March 16, 1880.

³ Hasselquist to Bishop Ullman, Feb. 18, 1890.

⁴ Augustana och Missionären, Nov. 10, 1887.

⁵ Interview, March 5, 1930, with Dr. Gunnar Westin of Uppsala, who is an author on the Free Church Movement in Sweden.

⁶ Lutheran Companion, Nov. 30, 1929.

⁷ Stephenson, "Some Footnotes to the History of the Swedish Immigration, 1855-65," Swedish Historical Society of America, Year Book, 1921-22, p. 37.

⁸ Hasselquist to P. J. Swärd, Paxton, Ill., July 12, 1873.

⁹ Hasselquist to Erland Carlsson, Paxton, Ill., Jan. 3, 1868.

¹⁰ Stephenson, unpublished manuscript on "Unonius."

who returned unopened the minutes of the Synod which Hasselquist had sent him.¹ It was, therefore, but natural that Hasselquist's policy would fail, when three successive archbishops shared the feelings so definitely expressed by the bishop.²

Though Hasselquist had failed to secure the official recognition of the Synod, his attitude toward the Swedish State Church created a basis for a closer friendship and a final recognition which was brought about in 1903.³ Twenty years later Archbishop Nathan Söderblom came to America to be present at the dedication of the new Augustana Seminary buildings,⁴ and in 1926 the Swedish Crown Prince visited Rock Island, on which occasion he paid tribute to Hasselquist. In recent years the attitude of the State Church has become increasingly cordial and it seems to be willing to recognize the Synod as a daughter church; but opinion in the Synod has moved in the other direction, becoming less anxious to be taken into this relationship. This attitude was illustrated in 1930, when the Bishops of Sweden sent a "Bishop's Cross" to the President of the Synod. At the synodical meeting held in Rock Island, Illinois, in June, 1930, popular sentiment, in aversion to the "Episcopal" form of government, suggested that the "cross" be placed in a museum.

This new policy on the part of the Swedish State Church is an indication of the important changes which it has undergone. To what extent this is due to "the separatistic movement" in Sweden, to Anglo-American influences, or to the Augustana Synod, it is impossible to say. Sunday schools and Young People's Societies, patterned upon American models, have been organized and a great deal of "evangelistic literature" has come into existence. Undoubtedly many ministers of the Augustana Synod, who have returned to Sweden and have joined the State Church, have exercised some influence, as these numbered not less than 35 in

¹ Augustana och Missionären, Nov. 30, 1881.

² Interview with Dr. Gunnar Westin.

³ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1903, p. 8. This was largely the work of Dr. Gustav Andreen, and the result of Bishop von Schéele's friendly feelings toward the Synod.

⁴ Svenskarna i Amerika, Vol. II, p. 121.

1906.¹ The Swedish Archbishop has expressed his opinion that the Augustana Synod, especially through the work of Hasselquist, has exerted a wholesome influence upon the development of the State Church.²

Although one may hesitate to assign to Hasselquist a place in general American History, he has a certain significance as a leader of the most numerous Swedish group in America. His greatest importance, however, is found in the fact that his career illustrates one type of leadership existing among the immigrant groups. The problems of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America, far from being unique, were common to all immigrant churches. The primary motive which brought millions of Europeans to America was the hope of finding a better home. Therefore, first thoughts centered upon the economic rather than the religious phase of life.³ This provided an opportunity for men of vision and ability, and this opportunity became the greater when the various State Churches of Europe (except perhaps the Catholic Church) failed to recognize this mission, and the task was left entirely in the hands of voluntary workers.⁴ The personality and policy of these pioneers therefore left a permanent impress on the organizations they founded.

The ability of the leaders of these immigrant churches was soon put to the test. It was only natural that in America an intense competition for converts should appear among groups who up to this time had enjoyed the monopoly or protection of a State Church in Europe. Widely scattered settlements, the rise of too many leaders who had been subjected to different training before their emigration, the influence of the already established denominations in America, tended to divide the immigrant churches into smaller groups, all of which became intensely hostile toward one another.⁵ Thus the German Lutheran Church in

¹ Augustana Synod, Protokoll, 1906, pp. 218-219.

² Letter from Archbishop Söderblom to the writer, August, 1929.

³ Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, p. 202.

⁴ That this was true concerning the Swedish State Church has been shown in this thesis. It was also true of other State Churches. United States Census, Religious Bodies (1926), p. 760.

⁵ Norlie, *History of the Norwegian People in America*, pp. 189-191; United States

America as late as 1926 was divided into several independent bodies, such as the Evangelical Lutheran Missouri Synod, the Joint Synod of Ohio, the Lutheran Synod of Buffalo, and the Iowa Synod.¹ The number of Danish Lutherans in America is small but they are divided into two groups, the Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the United Danish Lutheran Church. Even more apparent are the results of the local influences in Europe in the Finnish Lutheran Church, which in 1926 was divided into three groups, the Finnish National Church, the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Church. In spite of the fact that a merger in the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America took place in 1917, the following independent bodies were still to be found in 1926: the Norwegian Church, the Norwegian Free Church, the Church of the Lutheran Brethren, the Norwegian Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America or the Eielsen Synod.² The Swedish Lutheran Church was therefore the only nineteenth century Lutheran immigrant church which in 1926 was united. This is a noteworthy fact in the history of the Lutheran Church in America.³ Although its early history was marked by the same separatistic tendencies that faced its fellow churches, the Augustana Synod today enjoys a monopoly among the Swedish Lutherans. After a study of his career, one does not hesitate to say that this unity is due to the leadership of Hasselquist.

That leadership was necessary is evident from a consideration of the forces that would naturally end in disunion. Marked changes in thought took place in Europe during the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning

Census, Religious Bodies (1926), p. 798; Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216; Stephenson, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod*. A movement in favor of union has prevailed during the last half century and resulted in the formation of the United Lutheran Church in 1917, the Norwegian Lutheran Church in 1917, and the American Lutheran Church in 1929. Interview with Dr. L. G. Abrahamson, Dec. 18, 1930.

¹ United States Census, Religious Bodies (1926).

² *Ibid.* The Iowa Synod, the Ohio Synod, and the Buffalo Synod have merged into one body called the American Lutheran Church. Interview with Dr. L. G. Abrahamson, Dec. 17, 1930. This merger took place in 1930.

³ Jacobs, *op. cit.*, p. 518; Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

of the nineteenth. A desire for greater religious tolerance, the inroad of "freethinking" and materialism, even among the clergy, resulted in a reaction that emphasized piety. This tendency early expressed itself in the northern part of Sweden in the movement called Herrnhutianism. In the southern provinces, the influence of Bishop Henric Schartau, who stressed dogma and form, was noticeable in the early decades of the nineteenth century.¹ The Anglo-American religious influence was reflected in *Pietisten*, edited by C. O. Rosenius, as well as in the organization of "Evangeliska Fosterlands Stiftelsen."² As the reaction toward intellectualism gained ground in nearly every province, it resulted in spontaneous religious awakenings. Almost every province produced its leader, whose thought and methods were not exactly like those of the leaders in the neighborhood provinces. These differences were transplanted to America where they acted as a powerful force that tended to separate the Swedes into smaller groups. Esbjorn had been influenced by the Methodist George Scott,³ and an earlier influence that gradually became stronger, namely, "Hedbergianism."⁴ Hasselquist had been subjected to the doctrines of Schartau, Wieselgren and Hammar,⁵ but gradually the "scholastic" dogmatism and formalism of Schartau became dominant.⁶ Erland Carlsson had been influenced by Peter Lorentz Sellergren,⁷ and O. Olsson by "New Evangelism."⁸ It was against these divergent tendencies that Hasselquist was obliged to struggle in his efforts to secure a united Swedish Lutheran Church.

The immigrant churches were also obliged to undergo fundamental changes in order to adjust themselves to conditions new to them. No longer supported by the State, they were entirely dependent upon the willingness of the members to support the organization. They came in daily

¹ Montelius, *Sveriges Historia*, Vol. VI, pp. 209-210.

² *Ibid.*, p. 212; Westin, George Scott.

³ Stephenson, *The Founding of the Augustana Synod*.

⁴ Jonas Engberg to E. Norelius, Galesburg, Ill., Feb. 18, 1856.

⁵ *Lunds Stifts Julbok*, 1930.

⁶ *The Augustana Quarterly*, Vol. VII, pp. 118-127.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 119.

⁸ *The Friend*, Sept., 1930; Olson, *History of the Swedes in Illinois*, p. 521.

contact with native American churches, which stressed conduct as a criterion for membership, and employed emotionalism and revival meetings to gain members. When these churches began to proselyte among the adherents of the immigrant churches, the latter, in order to hold their own, had to adopt the methods employed by their competitors. They began to emphasize church membership and the necessity of repentance and Christian conduct. This resulted in a form of puritanism, the more acceptable to the immigrant leaders due to the pietistic doctrines which they had absorbed in Europe. This tendency might also be due to the fact that the immigrants, far from the public opinion that had once forced them to regard certain moral standards, now indulged in hitherto unknown excesses, and the church, in order to curb intemperance and immorality, exerted a restraining influence by becoming more puritanical.¹ Hasselquist's policy illustrated this evolution. He began to stress the necessity of church membership, he sponsored a great revival in Galesburg in the fifties,² and he emphasized the necessity of repentance. Although in later years, when pioneer conditions were removed, he became more reactionary and emphasized formalism, he never sacrificed his Puritanism.

As the process of settlement preceded the establishment of immigrant churches, it was but natural that communities first organized congregations, and then the leaders brought these units into a larger organization. The nature of this organization had to be changed in America, partly because of American conditions and partly because of the dislike which many immigrants have to Old World institutions.³ The unrestricted development of denominations in America after the War of Independence had fostered a feeling of hostility toward authority and especially toward bishops. This is plainly seen in the secession in 1830 from the Methodist Episcopal Church of the group that organized

¹ Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-235. This piety in the Augustana Synod, however, has by some been accredited to influences in Sweden rather than in America. The *Augustana Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, pp. 35-52.

² *Lunds Stifts Julbok*, 1930, pp. 36-37; *Hemlandet*, 1855-1858.

³ Norelius, Hasselquist, p. 36.

the Methodist Protestant Church, and a similar movement in 1843 that resulted in the organization of the "Wesleyan Methodist Connection."¹ In the immigrant churches "Americanization" in this respect was a rapid progress. Original powers rested in the congregations, which in creating a superstructure adopted the already generally approved or common forms of organization, embodied in Conferences and a Synod.² The Synod, however, was given very little power, and any seeming attempt to introduce the episcopal form of government was opposed as fundamentally undemocratic. These American tendencies Haselquist opposed as weakening the Church, and during a period of thirty years he advocated centralization of power, even if that involved the introduction of the episcopal form of government. But the American forces were too potent and although his centralization policy was not without success, the Augustana Synod never acquired all the powers with which he hoped to endue her.

This American influence probably created the greatest difficulty with which the leaders of the immigrant churches had to contend. But there were other American influences that they accepted with a great deal of enthusiasm, believing that imitation of some American practices was a necessity for the existence of their own churches. They adopted the "Convention Method." Conference, synodical, and mission meetings were used to stimulate the religious fervor of the people.³ Sunday schools were introduced in order to educate the children and safeguard the existence of the church in future generations.⁴ In the competition for members a religious press was also necessary, and Haselquist had not been in the United States three years before he began publishing a Swedish Lutheran organ.⁵ The Puritans of Massachusetts have been lauded for their love of education that prompted them to found an institution

¹ United States Census, Religious Bodies (1926), p. 927.

² Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, pp. 202 ff.

³ *Ibid.*; Stephenson, "The Mind of the Scandinavian Immigrant" in *Norwegian-American Historical Association Publications*, Vol. IV.

⁴ Peterson, "The Beginning of the Swedish American Education" in *Swedish-American Historical Society Year Book*, Vol. VIII.

⁵ See Chapter X.

of higher learning before their material existence was assured. But the underlying basis was religious self-preservation, and every immigrant church, unable to secure help from Europe, was forced to make elaborate plans for the training of a ministry. In the Swedish Lutheran Church group this led to the establishment of the Augustana College and Theological Seminary, of which institution Hasselquist was the president from 1863 to 1891. In this Hasselquist, as the pioneer Swedish-American educator, did nothing unique except perhaps when he endeavored by his rather brilliant idea to finance education by means of a colony.

Hasselquist became a "good" American in nearly every respect. Though he opposed "too much freedom" within the church, he rather furthered than retarded the process of "Americanization." He characterized opposition to "Americanization" as sinful.¹ He regarded the emphasis which the German Lutheran Church placed upon the "mother-tongue" as "the preaching of a language rather than a gospel," and he wished to avoid a similar condition within the Augustana Synod by preparing the Synod, through its educational institution, for the day when the Swedish language could no longer be used.² The Lutheran Church has often been called "un-American," due to its attitude to the public schools. Within the Augustana Synod there was never any opposition to public schools, and parochial schools were not considered a hostile move with respect to public schools, but a necessity in providing for the children a religious education not secured in the public schools.³ In spite of the fact that these parochial schools became nothing more than "parochial summer schools" and that the leaders were in sympathy with a rapid Americanization, the process was constantly retarded by new immigrants, as is shown by the strong feeling of nationality evident in the eighties.⁴ Loyalty toward America, coupled with pride in nationality, resulted in a peculiar "Swedish-

¹ Hasselquist to J. Swensson, Paxton, Ill., Feb. 15, 1865.

² Augustana och Missionären, March 28, 1883; Aug. 1, 1884; Oct. 1, 1886.

³ John A. Enander to Hasselquist, Chicago, Ill., June 7, 1874.

⁴ John A. Enander to E. Norelius, Chicago, Ill., June 2, 1880.

Americanism" which exhibited a feeling of superiority over "Swedes in Sweden" and a feeling of superiority over ordinary Americans because of their "Swedish" blood.¹

Among the Swedish religious bodies the Augustana Synod undoubtedly became Americanized more rapidly, because it could adopt English without losing its identity, while the Swedish Baptist and Methodist Churches would entirely lose their individuality with the passing of the Swedish language.² Therefore, today English is the official language of the Synod and the use of the Swedish tongue in all congregations is rapidly disappearing. However, this may, as in the case of other Swedish denominations, mean the loss of identity, as with the passing of the language problem the possibility of a United Lutheran Church in America, in which nationality will be discarded for common doctrines, is becoming increasingly bright.³

As yet, however, the Augustana Synod has maintained its identity, and the influence of Hasselquist is still a factor.⁴ It is the largest organized Swedish group in America. In 1925 the church property was listed as follows: churches and parsonages valued at \$21,935,582; schools, \$2,748,447; hospitals, \$3,056,013; Immigrant Homes, \$895,964; Old People's Homes, \$765,062; Children's Homes, \$654,772. This constituted a total valuation of property of \$31,393,808 and an annual expenditure of \$5,201,515.⁵ In 1926 the Synod had 1,180 churches, 311,425 adult members, 13,084 Sunday school officers and teachers.⁶ With these figures may be compared the Swedish-American church, "The Mission Friends," who numbered some over 30,000 members in 1925 with 324 congregations.⁷ The Swedish Methodist Church at that time had about 21,000 members and 250

¹ Augustana, June 19, 1890.

² C. F. Peterson in *Sverige i Amerika*, pp. 72-73, holds a different view, namely, that the close connection between the Swedish Reformed Churches and American Churches has hastened Americanization.

³ The fear of losing its identity caused the Synod to refuse to merge in the United Lutheran Church, formed in 1917. Interview with L. G. Abrahamson, Dec. 18, 1930.

⁴ The Augustana Quarterly, Vol. VII, p. 124.

⁵ *Svenskarna i Amerika*, Vol. II, p. 121.

⁶ United States Census, Religious Bodies (1926), pp. 720-723.

⁷ *Svenskarna i Amerika*, Vol. II, p. 131.

congregations,¹ and the Baptist Church about 31,000 members with 336 congregations.²

Having been "the ruler" of this dominant body, it is but natural that the influence of Hasselquist should leave its imprint upon the Swedes in America as a whole. These Swedes today represent a strong conservative influence. The larger proportion are farmers, and it has been estimated that over 10,000,000 acres of land have been cleared and cultivated by Swedes in America.³ As has been pointed out in a previous chapter, Hasselquist was largely responsible for bringing the Swedes into the Republican Party fold, and though this work was done chiefly prior to the Civil War,⁴ the Swedes retained a certain solidarity in politics up to 1912, when a large number of them supported Roosevelt. Some of these deserters have not returned, but have transferred their allegiance to the Farmer-Labor Party.⁵

In 1899 it was estimated that 99 per cent of the Swedes were Republicans,⁶ and this political solidarity has aroused much discussion. In the preceding pages, the influence of Hasselquist has been stressed as an important factor. However, other views and theories cannot be entirely ignored. The presence of a united Swedish-American Republican Press;⁷ opposition to slavery on the ground that the institution was contrary to the spirit of freedom fostered in Scandinavia; the belief that the Republican Party had a sound economic policy; the fact that the Swedes settled in Republican States, that they had never heard the term "Demokrati," and that they knew that a "Republikan" was opposed to monarchy have all been adduced.⁸ But the peculiar fact remains, regardless of the soundness of these theories, that the Norwegians, who have been living under practically the same influences, are not as solidly Repub-

¹ *Svenskarna i Amerika*, Vol. II, p. 143.

² *Ibid*, p. 135.

³ Johnson, *Swedish Contribution to American National Life*, p. 16.

⁴ *Minne av Den Andre Mars*, 1886.

⁵ *Svenskarna i Amerika*, Vol. II, p. 301.

⁶ Peterson, *Sverige i Amerika*, pp. 215-217.

⁷ *Ibid*.

⁸ *Svenskarna i Amerika*, Vol. II, pp. 300-301.

lican as the Swedes.¹ The influence of the Press is admitted, but its Republican nature was due to the fact that Swedish political opinion had been definitely formed by 1864 and a Democratic paper, if launched, was doomed to fail.² Moreover, it must be remembered that the Swedes were Democrats before 1856, and the change in party allegiance took place during the period when Hasselquist was especially anxious to guide the evolution of political opinion among the Swedes. In the pages of *Augustana*, during the seventies, Hasselquist's opposition to the Grangers, the Temperance Party, the Knights of Labor and other movements undoubtedly strengthened the Synod's political alliance with the Republican Party. Today the Augustana Synod is still under the influence by his anti-secret propaganda and as a Synod is in full sympathy with the Eighteenth Amendment.

The Augustana Synod is the creation of Hasselquist, and its spirit is still Hasselquistian, and with very few exceptions the Synod has, since 1890, accepted little of other influences, being in confession and doctrine the same today as in 1890. But to discredit the work of his coworkers would be unjust. Esbjorn performed an indispensable task as a pioneer; Erland Carlsson, as a diplomat and financial genius, rendered assistance of greatest importance; and Norelius, as the early historian of the Synod, performed a notable service. But had it not been for Hasselquist's labor during nearly forty years, it is likely that there would be no united Swedish Lutheran Church, and the political solidarity of the Swedes might not have been brought about. Even though his efforts for a United Lutheran Church failed in 1917 when the Augustana Synod declined to join in the formation of such a body, this ideal may yet be achieved, and the sentiment in the Synod which favors such a union is constantly increasing in strength, although it lags half a century behind the opinions of its founder.

¹ Scandinavia, Vol. III, p. 57.

² Peterson, op. cit., p. 239.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

I. SOURCES¹

A. MANUSCRIPTS

1. The Hasselquist Papers. These papers consist of sermons, letters to and from Hasselquist, and items, such as a Diary kept by Hasselquist while visiting Sweden in 1870. The copies of letters sent, although bound in six volumes, are not complete, but they are of the greatest value for the period, 1864-1875, years for which the collection is nearly intact. In this correspondence, letters written by the following and dealing principally with the problems of the Synod have been used most frequently: Erik Norelius, Jonas Swensson, Erland Carlsson, P. A. Cederstam. Included in the collection are letters from John A. Enander, concerning *Hemlandet* and the so-called "Swedish Letters" written by Hasselquist's friends in Sweden.
2. The Esbjorn Papers. Although many of these letters are in the archives of the Augustana Book Concern, the greatest number are to be found in the Library of Augustana College. Some of them have been published in *Tidskrift* and in the *Year-Book* of the Swedish-American Historical Society. An understanding of the founding of the Augustana Synod would be an impossibility without these letters.
3. The Norelius Papers. The term "The Norelius Collection" has become ambiguous and associated frequently with the whole collection of letters, including those already mentioned. Norelius undoubtedly is responsible for much of the historical data available on the history of the Augustana Synod, but by no means all, and therefore a careful distinction must be made between "The Norelius Collection" and the "Norelius Papers," the latter including only letters written to and by Erik Norelius, as well as some other manuscripts written by him. The most interesting documents are the letters written by Jonas Engberg to Norelius, which are, to say the least, "gossipy," and the P. Sjöblom-E. Norelius Correspondence, which is especially valuable in throwing light on the problems of the Synod.
4. The Jonas Auslund Papers. These letters were undoubtedly collected by Norelius, and concern the problems of the Synod, and Auslund's relationship to Hasselquist.

¹ In addition to the sources given in the Bibliography, a number of persons have been interviewed. (See footnotes.)

5. The Erland Carlsson Papers. In addition to the letters written by Carlsson to Hasselquist and Norelius and found in their respective papers, a number of his letters have been bound up in one volume. This collection is, however, very incomplete and the most unsatisfactory.
6. Miscellaneous Manuscripts. These probably belong to the proper Norelius Collection and were undoubtedly used by him in writing the history of the Synod. This valuable material has not been indexed or properly arranged. Unfortunately much of the material used by Norelius in his history is evidently lost, and what is left consists of reports from Swedish settlements, documents on the condition of the congregations, articles on proselyting, biographies, and autobiographies, some of which were published in *Hemlandet* and in *Korsbaneret*.
7. Special Manuscripts. These papers consist of the Minutes (or "Protokoll") of the Augustana Synod, Minutes of the Board of Directors of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, Committee Reports, etc., and are not a part of the "Norelius Collection." They are preserved in a vault in the Augustana College Library. Of these manuscripts only the "Protokolls" have been published. They constitute the chief source of information for the growth and expansion of the Synod.
8. The Church Records of Congregations. These have not been collected systematically and only a few are available. The Church Record of the Swedish Lutheran Church of Paxton, Ill., has been well preserved, and was used with the permission of the Rev. Oscar Purn. Without it, the study of the "Colony of Paxton" would have been distinctly incomplete.

B. PRINTED MATERIAL

1. Letters printed in *Tidskrift*, 1899, 1910, and in The Swedish-American Historical Society, *Year-Book*, 1905-1930. In the latter is published a great number of letters not found among the papers mentioned above dealing especially with the Swedish immigration. Norelius' *T. N. Hasselquist* is a source book of importance, in which often entire letters are cited.
2. Printed Documents. *Tidskrift*, 1899, contains the Minutes of the Scandinavian Conferences of the Northern Illinois Synod. Later issues of the *Tidskrift* also present valuable historical documents. The *Year-Book* of the Swedish-American Historical Society is also valuable for the same reason. Norelius, *De Svenska Lutherska Församlingarnas och Svenskarnas Historia i Amerika* contains much of value, but Norelius has neglected at times to quote the source, in spite of the fact that much material is presented verbatim. His volumes should be classified as a source book rather than as a secondary work.

3. *Augustana Synodens Protokoll, 1860–1891.* These are the Minutes of the Synod, and indicate the development and growth of the Augustana Synod. The debates at the Synodical Conventions have not been included, but the report of the President, reports of Committees, reports of Conferences, tables indicating the financial status of the Synod and its institutions, membership statistics and official decisions of the Synod are presented.
4. *Konferensernas Protokoll.* Each Conference kept its own Minutes, such as *Illinois Konferensens Protokoll, Minnesota Konferensens Protokoll*, etc. These Minutes would naturally be of great value in a detailed study of the growth of the Synod, but with the exception of *Illinois Konferensens Protokoll*, they did not furnish any additional information on the life of Hasselquist.
5. *The Minutes of the Northern Illinois Synod, 1860.* This pamphlet is of interest due to the fact that the Scandinavians seceded in 1860 from the Synod of Northern Illinois.
6. *General Council Conventions.* The Minutes of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, 1867–1891. Through this source we are able to determine to what extent the Augustana Synod was willing to coöperate with the General Council.
7. *Pamphlets.* Pamphlets were printed at an early date in the history of the Augustana Synod in order to strengthen the church by defending its doctrines and attacking proselyters. Some of these have been catalogued, but the great majority have been merely deposited in boxes at the Augustana College Library and at the Augustana Book Concern. The pamphlets represent an important phase of the work of the Synod. The following have been of the most value:

Augustburgiska Bekännelsen. Galesburg, Ill., 1857.

Dr. Martin Luthers Sändebrev till tvenne Kyrkoherdar.

Om Vederdopet. Galesburg, Ill., 1857.

P. Fjellstedt, *Hvad Lærer Bibeln om Försoningen?* Moline, Ill., 1878.

Echo från Reformations-Festen vid Augustana College and Theological Seminary. Moline, Ill., 1878.

C. A. Blomgren, *Är episkopalkyrkans mission bland våra landsmän i Amerika berättigad?* Rock Island, Ill., 1894.

Minne av den andre Mars 1886 vid Augustana College och Teologiska Seminarium. This is not a tract, but a reproduction of speeches delivered on Hasselquist's seventieth birthday.

Till den Svenska Immigranten. (A tract published by the order of the Augustana Synod.)

Hälsnings-Ord till den Svenske Emigranten. St. Paul, 1880.

L. G. Almén, *Augustana-Synodens skäl för dess ståndpunkt mot Hemliga Sällskap*. Rock Island, Ill., 1901.

J. W. Richard, *Thee Free Church Movement in Sweden*. (A tract reprinted from the Minutes of the Augustana Synod, 1878, 1879.)

8. *Catalogues of Augustana College and Theological Seminary, 1871-91*. These Catalogues are the most important source for the history of the College and Seminary, giving information as to the faculty members, the number of students, courses offered, student organizations, etc.

C. JOURNALS AND ANNUALS¹

1. *The Alumnus*. Vols. I-III. An Educational Magazine for young people published by the Alumni Association of Augustana College. Dr. C. W. Foss' article on Augustana College in the first volume is based on a careful study of the history of the institution, and has been of great value. In 1895, its name was changed to *The Augustana Journal*, Rock Island, Ill., 1895-1906.
2. *The Evangelical Review*, Gettysburg, 1849-1870. This is an early Lutheran journal "for the cultivation and criticism" of Lutheran theology and literature. The *Review* is one of the most important sources for a study of the Lutheran Church in America, but its broad field necessarily prevented detailed discussions. In the preparation of this thesis, only the article on "The Early History of Lutheranism in Illinois" by S. W. Harkey, in Vol. XVII, has been found useful.
3. *The Quarterly Review of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*. This journal is a continuation of the above. Most valuable is the article by Francis Springer on "The Lutheran Church in Illinois" in the October issue of 1873.
4. *The Lutheran Church Review*, Philadelphia, 1882-1904. The two preceding titles are organs of the General Synod, while the *Church Review* represented the more conservative body, the General Council. An interesting article on the early Lutheran Church in America is found in Volume IV, but such articles occur frequently in all of these three *Reviews*.
5. *Korsbaneret*, 1881-1929. An annual published by the Augustana Synod and devoted entirely to the history and work of the Synod, and therefore of the greatest value. Unfortunately, many of the contributions are uncritical.

¹ These journals and annuals are not to be considered as purely source material but they cannot properly be listed as secondary sources, although some would naturally be classified as such. As far as they supply a contemporary record or are written by contemporaries of Hasselquist, they must be regarded as sources, but such articles, as well as articles written later, have altogether too often been written to please the readers.

6. *My Church*, 1915–1919. A Synodical annual edited by Dr. Ira Nothstein and principally a reproduction of *Korsbaneret* in English.
7. *Prärieblomman*, 1900–1913. An annual published in Swedish by the Augustana Book Concern. Although it is devoted to other cultural subjects than religion, the religious sentiments of the Synod are dominant. Although of little value to this study, an article of interest is found in the issue of 1906 on *Hemlandet, Det Gamla och Det Nya*, written by John A. Enander.
8. *Valkyrian*, 1897–1909. An illustrated monthly published by Charles K. Johansen in New York. This magazine was undoubtedly published to satisfy the increasing demand for a secular journal dealing with subjects of interest to a general public, such as the Americanization of the Swedes, the history of the Swedish-American Press, or cultural interests of Swedish-Americans. Its secular origin also without a doubt brought forth a competitor in *Prärieblomman*, although the latter was a yearly Calendar.
9. Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-Book*, 1905–1930. The *Year-Book* is without doubt the best secondary source on the Swedes in America, and due to the influence of Professor George Stephenson of the University of Minnesota, it has become a scientific historical quarterly. Articles appearing in this *Year-Book* are cited below under the names of the respective authors.
10. *Tidskrift*, 1899–1913. A theological quarterly published by the Augustana Synod in which some letters of the founders of the Synod have been published as well as some other source material. However, it is essentially a Theological Journal. A number of articles on the doctrinal views of the fathers of the Synod have been written by such men as Dean C. E. Lindberg and Dr. S. G. Youngert.
11. *The Augustana Quarterly*, 1917–1930. A continuation of the *Tidskrift* and of the same character.

D. NEWSPAPERS¹

1. *Augustana*, Oct., 1868–1930. A religious periodical published by the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society, Chicago, Ill., and

¹ This is not a complete bibliography on the Swedish-American Press, and only those papers are mentioned which have been used in the preparation of the thesis. No complete bibliography has yet been published but it is estimated that nearly 1,500 newspapers and periodicals, religious and political, have been published in the Swedish language in the United States in the period, 1851–1910. The best guides available are Bernhard Lundstedt's, *Svenska Tidningar och Tidskrifter utgifna inom Nord-Amerikas Förenta Stater* (Stockholm, 1886. Kungl. Bibliotekets Samlingar, Vol. VIII) and Alfred Söderström's *Blixtar på Tidnings-Horisonten* (Warroad, Minn., 1910). Hasselquist is chiefly responsible for the nearly complete collection of Swedish-American newspapers at the Royal Library in Stockholm, Sweden.

first edited by Hasselquist. As the organ of the Augustana Synod, it is one of the most important sources. In December, 1869, it was merged with *Rätta Hemlandet* and took the name *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*. In 1874, it became *Augustana, Luthersk Kyrkotidning* (Jan., 1874–Dec., 1878), published by A. C. F. De Remee, Rock Island, Ill., 1874, and in 1875 at Moline, Ill. In 1876–1878 it was published by the Swedish Printing Company, Moline, Ill., and Wistrand and Thulin, Moline, Ill. It represents the merger of *Det Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana*, *Missionären*, *Luthersk Kyrkotidning* and *Nytt och Gammalt*. In 1879 it was merged with *Missionären*, which had again been published as an independent paper, and the new paper was called *Augustana och Missionären* (1879–1889). Wistrand and Thulin, Moline, Ill., published it for the Synod during 1879–1882, after which it was published by Thulin and Anderson, Moline, Ill., 1883–1884, and later by the Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Ill. The editor-in-chief was Hasselquist. In 1889 the paper came out again with the simple name *Augustana*.

2. *Augustana Observer*, Dec., 1881–1884. A religious periodical published by the Augustana Observer Publishing Company and the last few issues by the Augustana Tract Society and the Augustana Book Concern. It represents the first efforts of the Synod to foster a religious paper in the English language, but after an existence of less than three years, it failed.
3. *The Augustana Journal*, Rock Island, Ill., 1895–1906. This was a continuation of *The Alumnus*. It is listed here because of its close connection with the Synod and the College, although its contents, when of an historical nature, would be classified as secondary.
4. *Barnens Tidning*, 1886–1891.
5. *Barn-Vännen*, 1874–1884. *Barn-Vännen* is the first Sunday school paper of the Synod. *Barnens Tidning* and *Barn-Vännen* have been mentioned merely because of their connection with the Synod, and though not useful in this particular investigation, they might be to some other aspect of the work of the Synod.
6. *Bethania*, 1881–1885. During the first year of its existence, *Bethania* was published by a Society, after which it became the official organ of the Iowa Conference of the Augustana Synod. It represents the tendency of disunion prevalent in the Synod and the reaction against Hasselquist's monopoly of the Swedish-Lutheran Press.
7. *Chicago-Bladet*, 1877–1891, Chicago, Ill. A religious and political newspaper for the Swedish people in the United States. It became, under the editorship of John Martenson, the chief defender of "New Evangelism" and the teachings of P. Wal-

denström and, therefore, was in a nearly continual war with *Augustana*. The intensity of these doctrinal controversies is clearly revealed in this paper.

8. *Evangelisk Luthersk Tidskrift*, Dec., 1877–Dec., 1878, Red Wing, Minn. This Lutheran journal was published and edited by E. Norelius and P. Sjöblom in the interest of the Minnesota Conference of the Augustana Synod, and represents an attempt to break the Synodical monopoly of the Press.
9. *Evangelisk Tidskrift*, 1877–1884, Chicago, Ill. This was the official organ of the Swedish Baptist Church and was edited by J. A. Edgren and E. Wingren. In November, 1884, it changed its name to *Nya Vecko-Posten*, but continued to further the cause of the Baptist Church.
10. *Framåt*. (See *Pedagogen*.)
11. *Frihetsvännen*, 1859–1861. A semi-religious and political newspaper appearing every other week at Galesburg, Ill. It was published with the express purpose of furthering the cause of the Baptist Church among the Swedes, and was, therefore, very antagonistic to the Lutheran Church, which, led by Hasselquist, did not fail to return the spirit of antagonism.
12. *Hemlandet, Det Gamla och Det Nya*, 1855–1891. *Hemlandet* was the first successful Swedish-American newspaper, starting as a semi-monthly but soon changing into a weekly. Its founder was Hasselquist, who was its editor, 1855–1858, during which it was published at Galesburg, Ill. Then it became the official organ of the Synod, published by the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society at Chicago, Ill. In 1872 it was sold to J. A. Enander and G. A. Bohman. Hasselquist had, however, placed his stamp upon the paper, and throughout its existence, which did not come to an end until 1914, it was friendly to the Lutheran Church and a staunch supporter of the Republican Party. It was not only the most conservative Swedish-American newspaper, but was probably also the most influential.
13. *Hemlandet, Det Rätta*, 1856–1869. This paper was devoted entirely to religious questions and was started by Hasselquist to further the cause of the Lutheran Church. Until 1859, it was published in Galesburg, Ill., when it was transferred to Chicago, where it was published by the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society. In 1863, its name was changed to *Det Rätta Hemlandet och Missionsbladet*, which was merged with *Augustana* in 1869 to form *Rätta Hemlandet och Augustana* and through a few more slight changes in name it is still published as *Augustana*, the official religious organ of the Synod appearing in the Swedish language. As *Hemlandet, Det Gamla och Det Nya* has been one of the chief sources on the political aspect of the present thesis, so *Augustana* has been one of the most important sources on the religious aspect.

14. *The Illinois Swede*, 1869–1870, Galva, Ill. This paper was started by Captain Eric Johnson as a secular and political newspaper with the express purpose of hastening the Americanization of the Swedes. It was first printed in the English language but gradually became entirely Swedish, not sacrificing, however, its motto: "Our adopted country first and last." In 1870, its name was changed to *Nya Verlden*. It took a very cautious stand in order not to incur the enmity of the various Swedish Church denominations and was able to steer a course of neutrality in all religious matters.
15. *The Lutheran Companion*, 1910–1930, Rock Island, Ill. The English publication of the Augustana Synod published for its young people.
16. *Luthersk Kyrkotidning*, 1872–1873, Red Wing, Minn. A Lutheran periodical published in the interest of the Minnesota Conference and edited by Rev. E. Norelius, but due to the fact that it early clashed with the interests of *Augustana*, a merger took place in which *Luthersk Kyrkotidning* lost its identity in 1874.
17. *Minnesota Posten*, 1857–1858, Red Wing, Minn. This semi-religious and political newspaper was begun by Rev. E. Norelius and Jonas Engberg. In politics it supported the Republican Party, and in religious affairs it supported the Lutheran Church. It probably was never a complete success. Hasselquist feared that two newspapers with identically the same purpose would fail, as there was not a sufficiently large number of Swedes in America to support two papers. His fear resulted in a merger of *Minnesota Posten* and *Hemlandet*, a merger in which the name of the latter paper was adopted.
18. *Minnesota Stats-Tidning*, 1877–1892, Minneapolis, Minn. A secular political newspaper supporting the Republican Party started by Col. Hans Mattson. It sought to avoid religious affairs, but was not unfriendly to the Augustana Synod. Col. Hans Mattson had been much pleased by receiving a letter from Hasselquist which praised the newspaper, and he was anxious to keep the friendship of the Synod. This was not easily done, but Mattson met with a fair amount of success. In 1881, it was bought by the Lutheran Publication Society of the Northwest and took a definite stand in favor of the Lutheran Church. The following year it was merged with *Skaffaren* to form *Skaffaren och Minnesota Stats-Tidning*. As both were pro-Lutheran papers, the new paper continued to work in the interests of the Lutheran Church and especially of the Minnesota Conference of the Augustana Synod. Its attempts, however, to secure a stronger foothold outside of the Conference led to a clash between *Hemlandet* and *Skaffaren*, which threatened the very unity of the Synod. The

- influence of Hasselquist's temperance propaganda can be plainly seen in the latter paper.
19. *Missions-Vännen*, 1874-1890, Chicago, Ill. This religious journal of the Swedish Evangelical Lutheran Mission Synod naturally was a thorn in the side of the Augustana Synod, which so fiercely attacked the doctrines of P. Waldenström. However, *Missions-Vännen* was written in an entirely different spirit than *Chicago-Bladet*, its coworker and competitor, and its methods of attack resembled very much that of *Augustana* which sought to avoid everything personal.
 20. *Nordstjernan*, 1872-1890, New York, N. Y. A political weekly, which avoided allying itself with any political party, and was, therefore, branded a Democrat paper, until the eighties when it definitely took sides with the Republican Party. It was regarded by Hasselquist as one of the principal enemies of the Lutheran Church.
 21. *Nya Svenska Amerikanaren*, 1873-1877, Chicago, Ill. A continuation of *Svenska Amerikanaren*, extremely radical and antagonistic toward the Augustana Synod, which associated it with atheism. In 1877, it was merged with *Nya Verlden* into *Svenska Tribunen*, which did not adopt the radical policy of *Nya Svenska Amerikanaren*. Herman Roos, the editor of the latter paper, had severed his connections with the paper in 1876 and started another paper, *Svenska Posten*, which in 1877 took the name of *Svenska Amerikanaren* and in spirit was the true successor of *Nya Svenska Amerikanaren*.
 22. *Nya Verlden*, 1870-1877, Galva, Ill., 1870-1871; Chicago, Ill., 1871-1877. Although a continuation of *The Illinois Swede*, the policy of cautiousness was abandoned, and the severance of its political alliance with the Republican Party caused it to be severely criticized. It was considered by Hasselquist an enemy of the Synod, and undoubtedly many a preacher denounced it. In 1877, it was merged with *Nya Svensk-Amerikanaren*, and its policy was entirely changed in order to insure success.
 23. *Nytt och Gammalt*, Lindsborg, Kans. A religious periodical edited by Rev. O. Olsson of the Augustana Synod. The paper was of an evangelistic character, and has been of no value in this investigation except as it became a rival of *Augustana*, which absorbed it in 1874. It was published during the last nine months of 1873 only.
 24. *Pedagogen*, 1885, Lindsborg, Kans. This paper was started as an unpretentious educational journal published by the Bethany Normal Institute and edited by Rev. C. A. Swensson. It was not a success, and in 1886 it was discontinued and supplanted by a weekly semireligious and political paper called *Framåt*. C. A. Swensson was the editor of *Framåt*, which became a

strong pro-Augustana, pro-Republican, pro-temperance, and anti-secret society paper.

25. *Scandinavia*, 1883–?, Chicago, Ill. A literary monthly journal “devoted to the publication in English of the current events and chief features of Scandinavian literature, history, religion, science, art, etc.” In this thesis only one article in Volume III by F. H. B. McDowell on “The Newer Scandinavia” has been used.
26. *Schibboleth*, 1878–1879, Chicago, Ill. A pro-Augustana Synod paper published with the approval of Hasselquist by S. P. A. Lindahl and A. G. Setterdahl for the specific purpose of fighting drunkenness and secret societies. It is a valuable source in indicating to what extent the influence of Hasselquist had been exerted over Lindahl and Setterdahl.
27. *Skaffaren*, 1879–1891. A continuation of *Ev. Luthersk Tidskrift*, although being a religious and political weekly. Rev. E. Norelius was the editor in name, but in spirit it reflected the influence of Rev. P. Sjöblom, and as such it threatened the unity of the Synod. In 1882, it was merged with *Minnesota Stats-Tidning* under the name of *Skaffaren och Minnesota Stats-Tidning*, but in 1885 it appeared again with the more simple name, *Skaffaren*. It became the chief rival of *Hemlandet* in winning the favor of the Synod, and with a new editor in 1884 it became distinctively “Hasselquistian,” fighting for temperance more eagerly than ever, upholding orthodox Lutheran and Republican principles, and rivaling even Hasselquist in its hostility toward secret societies.
28. *Skandia*, 1876–1878, Moline, Ill. Its first editor was Prof. P. E. Melin of Augustana College, who made it a weekly political newspaper, favoring the Republican Party. Melin, however, was soon compelled to discontinue due to the demands of the owners of *Hemlandet*, who in *Skandia* saw an attempt to steal the favor of the Augustana Synod. Although at first a friendly pro-Augustana Synod paper, finding itself not necessary and its services not wanted, the paper became very antagonistic toward the Synod. In 1878, it was bought by the Swedish Publishing Company and merged with *Svenska Tribunen*.
29. *Skandinaven*, Dec., 1851 (?)–Oct., 1852 (?), New York. The Royal Library at Stockholm, Sweden, possesses only four scattered numbers of this paper. It was radical in political as well as religious questions.
30. *Skandinavisk Post*, 1863–1875, New York. A very strong anti-Augustana Synod weekly, favoring the Democratic Party. Its editor was the radical Gustav Obom, who had started *Skandinaven* a little more than a decade earlier.

31. *Svenska Amerikanaren*, 1866–1873, Chicago, Ill. A Republican newspaper with liberal tendencies, which yearly became more liberal, resulting in an intense hostility toward the Augustana Synod, which in turn accused the paper of being connected with the Episcopalian Church as well as with “Runners.”
32. *Svenska Amerikanaren*, 1877–1891. (Not to be confused with No. 31.) When *Nya Svenska Amerikanaren* was merged with *Nya Verlden*, the former editor of *Svenska Posten*, Herman Roos, discontinued the latter paper and began *Svenska Amerikanaren*, which at first continued the policy of the old *Svenska Amerikanaren* and *Nya Svenska Amerikanaren*, i. e., liberalism and hostility toward the Augustana Synod.
33. *Svenska Posten*, 1876–1877(?), Chicago, Ill. This weekly political newspaper was begun by the radical Herman Roos in December, 1877, and through him it became associated with “Freethinkers.” By the Synod it was considered a plague.
34. *Svenska Tribunen*, 1877–1891, Chicago, Ill. Represents the merger of *Nya Verlden* and *Nya Svenska Amerikanaren* but took the appearance of the former rather than the latter, which was a continuation of *The Illinois Swede*. *Svenska Tribunen* became a supporter of the Republican Party, thus profiting by past experience, i. e., the break with that party by *Nya Verlden* in 1872. It adopted the cautiousness of *The Illinois Swede*, seeking to treat all religious matters with the greatest tact in order not to incur the enmity of anyone. Its cautiousness, its friendliness to secret societies, and a fear that *Hemlandet* had a serious rival, caused Hasselquist to condemn it as the most dangerous enemy of the Augustana Synod.
35. *Den Svenska Republikanen i Norra Amerika*, Galva, Ill., 1856–1878; Chicago, Ill., 1858. A Republican newspaper published every other week and supported by the Swedish settlement at Bishop Hill. It was edited by S. Cronsjo and was the first competitor of *Hemlandet*.
36. *Sändebudet*, 1862–1891. A Methodist weekly published during 1862–1864 at Rockford, Ill. It was also a semi-political newspaper and supported the Republican Party. Although a rival to *Augustana* and *Hemlandet*, it very seldom attacked the characters of persons, and was written in a worthy style throughout.
37. *Zions Banér*, 1871–1879. This was the first journal of “the evangelistic movement” and was very hostile toward the Augustana Synod.
38. *Zions Wakt*, 1874–1876. A Baptist paper edited by J. A. Edgren and K. A. Östergren. These two religious journals (Nos. 37 and 38) are of inestimable importance in any research dealing with the religious tendencies and rivalry among the Swedes in America.

39. *The Young Lutheran Companion*, 1907-1910, Rock Island, Ill. A continuation of *The Augustana Journal*. It is of a later period than that of Hasselquist's career but contains valuable information as to the Synod and its work during 1907-1910. Some shorter articles on the History of the Synod are to be classified as secondary material.

E. OTHER NEWSPAPERS

1. *Kirkelig Tidende*, 1856, Madison, Wis., and St. Louis, Mo. This religious journal or newspaper represented that Lutheran Norwegian body that came in contact with the Missouri Synod. The paper is distinctly anti-Calvinistic and hostile to the Norwegian Lutherans of the Northern Illinois Synod.
2. *Kirkelig Maanedstidende*, 1858-1873. According to the copies found at Augustana College and Theological Seminary this religious journal of the Norwegian Wisconsin Synod was first published at Madison, Wisconsin, and later at Decorah, Iowa. It was a continuation of *Kirkelig Tidende* and even hostile to the attempts made toward a union among the Scandinavian Lutherans.
3. *Norsk Luthersk Tidende for den Evangelisk-Lutherske Kirke i Amerika*, 1857-1870(?), Leland, Illinois. This religious newspaper represented the views of the Norwegians of the Northern Illinois Synod and later of the Augustana Synod. It has not been used extensively in the preparation of this thesis, as it would probably not add much of importance to information or points of view available from other sources.¹
4. *The Lutheran Observer*, 1857-1870, Philadelphia, Pa. A religious weekly "devoted to the principles and interest of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States." This paper was friendly to the Swedish Lutherans until they separated from the Northern Illinois Synod in 1860. Thereafter it became distinctly hostile, especially after the creation of the General Council in 1867. However, it is not a valuable source. The Scandinavian Lutherans are seldom mentioned, and the occasional references to the Scandinavians are not always reliable, due naturally to the wide gap separating the General Synod from the Scandinavian Lutherans in both geography and doctrine.
5. *The Missionary*, 1856-1861, Pittsburgh, Pa. A weekly edited by W. A. Passavant "devoted to the principles, institutions, missions and charities of the Evangelical Lutheran Church." Of all the English newspapers this is the most valuable in mat-

¹ There are also a number of Norwegian secular newspapers such as *Skandinaven*, *Emigranten*, and *Faedrelandet*, which have been read, but have not been found useful. If a study were made of the doctrinal struggles of the Scandinavians, these newspapers would be of the most value.

ters concerning the Swedish Lutherans. The close contact and the friendship of W. A. Passavant toward the Swedish Lutherans is here expressed. The newspaper was continued beyond 1861 but then as,

6. *The Lutheran and the Missionary*, 1861–1891, Philadelphia, Pa. It continued its friendly policy toward the Swedish Lutherans, probably chiefly due to the influence of Dr. W. A. Passavant.
7. *The Olive Branch*, 1856–1860, Springfield, Ill. A Lutheran monthly published in the interest of the Northern Illinois Synod. It is of a great value in showing the relationship between the Scandinavian Lutherans and the Synod. *The Olive Branch* of 1860 gives the views of the American Lutherans on the secession of the Scandinavians from the Synod in that year.
8. *The Paxton Record*, 1865–1875, Paxton, Ill. A county newspaper published at Paxton, Ill. The editor was N. E. Stevens, who at first showed a friendly attitude toward the Augustana College and Theological Seminary. Later, however, this changed to complete indifference. Volumes of this paper, consulted in the fall of 1929 in the office of the paper at Paxton, have since been destroyed by fire.

II. SECONDARY WORKS

1. Anderson, W. Theodore, "Swedish Pioneers in Kansas," Swedish Historical Society of America *Year-Book*, Vol. X.
2. *Augustana Book Concern, 1889–1914, samt Augustana-synodens tidigare förlagsverksamhet*, 1914, Rock Island, Ill. A short and comprehensive history of the Augustana Book Concern, published for the 25th anniversary.
3. *Augustana College Album*, 1892, Rock Island, Ill. A short résumé of the history of Augustana College written in a popular style.
4. *Augustana Synoden, 1860–1910*, 1910, Rock Island, Ill. Short historical articles on the various activities of the Augustana Synod written by various authors.
5. Babcock, Kendrick Charles, *The Scandinavian Element in the United States* (University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. III, Urbana, Ill). This work is without question the most outstanding work on the Scandinavians in the United States, one of the few based on scientific research. In addition to its value as a contribution to this important field of American History, it contains the most complete bibliography on the Scandinavians in America.
6. Babcock, Kendrick Charles, *The Scandinavians in the Northwest*, Forum XIV, 1892. This short article was the result

of Kendrick Charles Babcock's earliest researches on the Scandinavians in America, which were later embodied in *The Scandinavian Element in the United States*.

7. Beckman, Ernst, *Amerikanska Studier*, Stockholm, 1883. An interesting account by a Swedish journalist of the conditions in America especially among the Swedes during the early eighties. It has been found useful both in treating the history of the Augustana Synod and of the Swedish-American Press.
8. Beckman, Ernst, *Från Nya Verlden. Reseskildringar från Nord-amerikas Förenta Stater*, Stockholm, 1877. Both this work and the one mentioned above are really source material as far as they deal with the conditions observed by the writer but, like most travelers' accounts, these original observations are few and, therefore, they have been listed as secondary sources.
9. Berger, V., *Svensk-Amerikanska Meditationer*, Rock Island, Ill., 1916. An interesting, short, but comprehensive study of Swedish-Americanism and the activities of the Swedes in America, written in a spirit not entirely uncritical.
10. Bergh, J. A., *Den Norske Lutherske Kirkes Historie i Amerika*, Minneapolis, Minn., 1914. A not very critical history of the Norwegian Lutheran Churches in America.
11. Bergin, Alfred, *Lindsborg Bidrag till Svenskarna och den Lutherska Kyrkans Historia i Smoky Hill River Dalen*, Rock Island, Ill., 1909. A history of the Swedish settlement of Lindsborg, Kans., and other settlements in Kansas, especially in the Smoky Hill River Valley.
12. Bergin, Alfred, *Lindsborg efter femtio år. Bidrag till vår Lutherska Kyrkas och Svenskarnas historia i Kansas och Sydvästern*, Lindsborg, Kans., 1919. A very interesting account is given in the first few pages of the hardships faced by the Swedish immigrants on their journey across the Atlantic.
13. *Bland Bättre Folk och Pack i "Det Förlovade Landet."* *Svensk-Amerikanska Skisser af en Hemkommen*, Stockholm, 1871. An anonymous immigrant's impressions of the United States, especially of New York, Chicago, and Minnesota.
14. Boissy, Tancred, *Svenska Nationaliteten i Förenta Staterna*, Göteborg, 1882. This short work represents an attempt to describe the social and economic conditions of the Swedes in America. The writer is very friendly toward the Augustana Synod, placing Hasselquist second only to the inventor, John Ericsson, in the list of great Swedish-Americans.
15. Blegen, Theodore C., "Minnesota's Campaign for Immigrants," *Swedish Historical Society of America, Year-Book*, Vol. XI. A short and interesting account of the official attempts to secure settlers for Minnesota. The article is followed by illustrative documents.

16. Bowman, C. V., *Missionsvännerna i Amerika. En återblick på deras uppkomst och första verksamhet*, Minneapolis, Minn., 1907. A popular history of the "Mission Friends," not, however, lacking merits, although following the history of the Synod by E. Norelius very closely in dealing with the origin of the "Mission Friend" Movement.
17. H. H. Boyesen, "The Scandinavians in the United States," *North American Review*, Vol. CLV (1892). The chief value of this article lies in the attempt made by Boyesen to explain the faithfulness of the Scandinavians to the Republican Party.
18. Bremer, Fredrika, *Hemmen i Nya Verlden*, 2 Vols., Stockholm, 1866. As far as Fredrika Bremer describes the conditions in America, this work is naturally a source of greatest importance.
19. Enander, Hilma, "Dr. Enander," Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-Book*, Vol. VII. An uncritical and biased article on the life of the prominent Swedish-American journalist, J. A. Enander, in which he is pictured as an enthusiastic Swedish Nationalist, a lover of the language, literature, and history of Sweden.
20. Erdahl, Eivert, "Eric Janson and the Bishop Hill Colony," Illinois State Historical Society, *Journal*, Vol. XVIII. A very good history on Eric Jansonism and the Swedish Colony at Bishop Hill.
21. Erickson, C. J. A., "Memories of a Swedish Immigrant," *Annals of Iowa*, April, 1907.. A recollection of hardships and struggles faced by Swedish immigrants.
22. Ericson, Oscar G., *Adolph Peterson. Den moderna organiserade svenska nykterhetsrörelsens grundläggare*, Minneapolis, Minn., 1924. The only biography of the founder of the Swedish Good Templar Lodges, a popular biography written at the request of the Illinois Grand Lodge of I. O. G. T.
23. *Fiftieth Anniversary Souvenir. First Ev. Lutheran Church, Monmouth, Illinois, 1868-1918*. A short review of the history of the Swedish Lutheran Congregation of Monmouth, Ill.
24. Flom, George T., "The Early Swedish Immigration into Iowa," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. III (1905).
25. Flom, George T., "The Scandinavian Factor in the American Population," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, Vol. III. These two articles by Flom are of the greatest interest from the point of view of Swedish and Scandinavian immigration, dealing with the causes of emigration, distribution in America, and the occupation of the Scandinavians in America.
26. Forsander, Nils, *Lifsbilder ur Augustana Synodens Historia*, Rock Island, Ill., 1915. An interesting collection of reminiscences concerning the Swedish Lutheran leaders in America,

somewhat marred by the abundance of praise and the fact that it was written in the spirit of deep pietism and reverence toward the pioneer leaders of the Synod.

27. Gerberding, G. H., *The Life and Letters of W. A. Passavant*, Greenville, Pa., 1906. Although undoubtedly a contribution to the history of the Lutheran Church of America, there is a great deal wanting in this study. The author has not given sufficient attention to the relationship of W. A. Passavant with the Swedish Lutherans.
28. Guinchard, J. (editor), *Sweden, Historical and Statistical Handbook*, 2 Vols., Stockholm, 1914. A comprehensive work on the conditions in Sweden published by the authority of the Swedish government. It deals with the last half century of the century of emigration to America, covering a period when fear was expressed in Sweden that that country might be depopulated.
29. Gustafson, E. B., "The Swedes in Minnesota," Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-Book*, Vol. X. A reproduction of a history of the Swedes in Minnesota written by Hans Mattson for early Swedish-American newspapers.
30. Hall, A. G., *Svenska Baptisternas historia under en tid av femtio år, 1848-1898*, Chicago, Ill., 1900. A popular history of the Swedish Baptist Church in America.
31. Hart, Albert Bushnell, *Swedish Americanism. Our Share in American History*, Philadelphia, Pa., 1929. An address delivered at Philadelphia on June 7, 1926. Delivered at the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the Declaration of Independence, the address naturally deals almost entirely with the Swedish Colony on the Delaware and the descendants of those colonists, while the later Swedish immigration and its importance have received a secondary place.
32. Helland, Andreas, *Augsburg Seminar gjennem femti aar, 1869-1919*. An interesting history of the Augsburg Seminary and of the causes leading to the separation between Scandinavian Lutherans of the Augustana Synod.
33. Herlenius, Emil, *Erik-Jansismens Historia*, Jönköping, 1900. A history of the origin of the heresies of Erik Janson, the emigration of the heretic from Sweden and the establishment of the Bishop Hill Colony in Illinois.
34. Hildebrand, Carl, and Fredenholm, Axel (editors), *Svenskarna i Amerika. Populär historisk skildring i ord och bild av svenskarnas liv och underbara öden i Förenta Staterna och Canada*, Stockholm, 1925, 2 Vols. A great number of authors have contributed to this popular history of the Swedes in America, and the first volume contains a great deal of information as to the causes leading to the Swedish emigration, the distribution of the Swedes in America, occupations, etc.

35. Hill, S. M., *Ledareskapet i Svensk-Amerika*. Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-Book*, Vol. V. One of the many articles in the *Year-Book* that testify more to inspiration than research.
36. *Historical Sketch of the Augustana College and Theological Seminary located at Rock Island, Ill.* A reprint from the *Portrait and Biographical Album of the Rock Island County of the State of Illinois*, Chicago, Ill., 1886. A short summary of the history of the educational institution of the Augustana Synod.
37. *The Illinois Conference, 1853-1928, Jubilee Album*, Rock Island, Ill., 1928. A history of the Illinois Conference of the Augustana Synod, written as a Jubilee Album, in which little attention has been given to historical criticism and research.
38. Jacobs, Henry Eyster, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*. In the American Church History Series, Vol. XIII. A short history of the Lutheran Church in America naturally must depend to a very large extent upon the histories of the various Synods. This Jacobs has done, also drawing from such sources as *The Evangelical Review* and *The Lutheran Quarterly*, the result being an uncritical, biased, and general history.
39. Johnson, Amandus, *Swedish Contributions to American National Life, 1638-1921*, New York, 1921. An attempt to estimate the Swedish-Americans' contributions in various phases of life, as religion, politics, literature, etc.¹
40. Kaeding, George, *Rockfords Svenskar*, Chicago, Ill., 1885. A popular history of the Swedish settlement in and around Rockford, Ill.
41. Kronberg, S. J., *Banbrytaren*, Rock Island, Ill., 1906. A story of the experiences of a minister of the Augustana Synod in the Northwest during 1870-1905. It deals with the passing of the pioneer period in the Augustana Synod.
42. Liljegren, N. M., Westergreen, N. O. W., and Wallenius, C. G., *Svenska Metodismen i Amerika*, Chicago, Ill., 1895. A popular account of the history of the Swedish Methodist Church in the United States.
43. Lund, Emil, *Iowa-konferensens af Augustana-synoden Historia*, Rock Island, Ill., 1916. A history of the Iowa Conference of the Augustana Synod.
44. Lund, E. (editor), *Minnesota-konferensen av Augustana-synoden och dess historia*, 2 Vols., Rock Island, Ill., 1926. One of many so-called histories which are popular and written in order to

¹ This is not an attempt to give a complete Bibliography of the history of the Swedes in America, although some standard works have been referred to that have not been used directly.

please, including, therefore, only such historical facts as will arouse the interest of the reader.

45. *Lunds Stifts Julbok*, 1930. Utgiven av dess Kyrkliga Ungdomsförbund, Malmö, 1930. Contains an interesting article on "Skåningar i Augustanasynoden" by Rev. P. Boström.
46. McDowell, F. H. B., "The Newer Scandinavia." A short article of interest in *Scandinavia*, Vol. III (1884).
47. Mattson, Hans, *Minnen*, Lund, 1890. The autobiography of Col. Hans Mattson and therefore of some interest to the student of American Immigration.
48. Mikkelson, M. A., *The Bishop Hill Colony*. (Johns Hopkins University Studies, Vol. X.) An early but careful study of the Bishop Hill Colony.
49. *Minnen från Jubelfesten. Program, Predikningar och Tal vid Augustana Colleges och Augustana-synodens Femtioårs-jubileum den 5-15 juni 1910*. Rock Island, Ill. This work contains the sermons and addresses delivered at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the College and the Synod. Consul G. N. Swan's address on Swedish-American journalism is of great interest.
50. *Minnesalbum, Sv. Ev. Luth. Församlingen, Paxton, Illinois, i ord och bild, 1863-1903*. A short review of the history of the Swedish Lutheran congregation of Paxton, Ill.
51. *Minnesskrift*, Rock Island, Ill., 1910. A number of authors have contributed to this work published when the Augustana Synod celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its existence. Together with *The Augustana Synod, 1860-1910* it contains the best brief account of the activities of the Synod.
52. Nelson, A. P., *Svenska Missionsvännernas i Amerika Historia*, Minneapolis, Minn., 1906. A poorly written history of the congregations of the Mission Covenant rather than the Covenant as a church organization.
53. Nelson, O. N. (editor), *History of the Scandinavians and Successful Scandinavians in the United States*, Minneapolis, Minn., 1900. An uncritical history of the Scandinavians in America, containing numerous biographies of "successful Scandinavians." It is, however, valuable, being based on a considerable collection of source material made by the editor.
54. Newman, Ernst, *Nordskånska väckelserörelser under 1800-talet*, Stockholm, 1925. A scientific historical study of the religious movement in Scania, Sweden, during the 19th century, revealing to a certain extent how Hasselquist was affected or influenced while in Sweden.
55. Niebuhr, R. Richard, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism*, New York, 1929. A recently published critical work which contains a chapter on the effects of new waves of immigrants upon religious denominations in America, especially so-called Immigrant Churches.

56. Nisbeth, Hugo, *Två år i Amerika (1872-1874)*, Reseskildringar, Stockholm, 1874. This is in many respects source material. The author with a very observant and somewhat critical mind discusses the condition of the Swedes in America. The writer is unfriendly, if not hostile, toward the Augustana Synod.
57. Norelius, E., *De Svenska Lutherska Församlingarnas och Svenskarnas Historia i Amerika*, 2 Vols., Rock Island, Ill., 1890, 1916. The first volume is very comprehensive, showing evidence of a careful study of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America, while the second volume is more or less taken from the Minutes of the Synod. The author has undoubtedly drawn heavily upon his memory.
58. Norelius, E., *Ev. Lutherska Augustana-Synoden i Nord-Amerika och dess Mission*, Lund, 1870. Of this work a great deal cannot be said except that it is the Synod's first history and was written as propaganda.
59. Norelius, T. N. Hasselquist. *Lefnadsteckning*. (No date of publication given), Rock Island, Ill. This biography is valuable because of the documentary material cited at length. It is, however, written in a spirit of pietism, and can be described as an apology or an attempt on the part of the writer to explain his relationship to Hasselquist.
60. Norlie, O. M., *Den Forenede Norsk Lutherske Kirke i Amerika*, Minneapolis, Minn., 1914. A short history of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church of America.
61. Norlie, O. M., *History of the Norwegian People in America*, Minneapolis, Minn., 1925. A short but comprehensive history of the Norwegians in America.
62. Olson, E. W., *En Bokhandelshistoria*, Chicago, Ill., 1910. A short history of the Engberg and Holmberg book store and publishing establishment, which was started by Hasselquist, thereafter came into possession of the Swedish Lutheran Publication Society, and finally was sold to Engberg and Holmberg of Chicago, Ill.
63. Olson, E. W., *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, Chicago, Ill., 1908. A history of the Swedes of Illinois based on careful study, and well written. Contains biographies of more prominent Swedes.
64. Olson, E. W., *The Swedish Element in Illinois. Survey of the past seven decades*, Chicago, Ill., 1917. An improvement of the above work, discussing not only the history of the Swedish settlements in Illinois, but also the religious, educational, and cultural attainments of the Swedish people in the State. Like other histories of similar character, it contains biographies.
65. Olsson, O., *Samlade Skrifter*, Vol. III, Rock Island, Ill., 1910. In this work is presented Dr. O. Olsson's sketch of Hassel-

- quist, which, being an address delivered at the funeral of the latter, is highly favorable.
66. Person, Johan, *I Svensk-Amerika. Berättelser och Skisser*, Worcester, Mass., 1900. Contains some valuable information on the process of Americanization among the Swedish-Americans, but beyond this feature, it is just "another America book."
 67. Person, Johan, *Svensk-Amerikanska Studier*, Rock Island, Ill., 1912. A second attempt to put in writing impressions secured on a visit to America.
 68. Peterson, C. F., *Ett Hundra År. En återblick på det nittonde seklet*, Chicago, Ill., 1892. A review of European and American history in the nineteenth century, in which also some space is devoted to the conditions in Sweden, the emigration from that country, and the history of the Swedish immigrants in America.
 69. Peterson, C. F., and Johnson, Eric, *Svenskarna i Illinois. Historiska anteckningar*, Chicago, Ill., 1880. A history of the Swedish settlements in Illinois and Swedish institutions of the state and the nation.
 70. Peterson, C. F., *Sverige i Amerika. Kulturhistoriska och Biografiska Teckningar*, Chicago, Ill., 1898. An interesting book by one of the most outstanding Swedish-American journalists. Chapters on the Swedish-American Press and on Americanization are well written, although the author probably relied entirely, or to a very large extent, on his own experiences as a journalist.
 71. Peterson, Conrad, "Letters from Jonas Engberg to Erik Norelius in the Fifties," Swedish-American Historical *Bulletin*, Vol. III. These letters deal to a very large extent with the Augustana Synod.
 72. Peterson, Conrad, "Letters from Pioneer Days," Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-Book*, Vol. IX. A selection of letters written by L. P. Esbjorn, E. Norelius, and others.
 73. Peterson, Conrad, "The Beginning of Swedish-American Education," Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-Book*, Vol. VIII. An attempt to describe the earliest educational endeavors of the Swedish-Americans.
 74. Peterson, Frank, "Early Days on the Minnesota Prairies," Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-Book*, Vol. VIII. Rev. Frank Peterson describes in this article Minnesota as he found it in 1872.
 75. Peterson, Frank, *Femtio år; en återblick. En revy öfver Svenska Baptisternas i Amerika historia*, Minneapolis, Minn., 1902. A short review of the history of the Swedish Baptist Church in America, in only 28 pages.

76. Rohne, J. Magnus, *Norwegian American Lutheranism up to 1872*, New York, 1926. A very interesting and comprehensive study of Norwegian Lutheranism in America prior to 1872.
77. Ross, E. A., "The Scandinavians in America," *Century*, Vol. LXXXVIII (1914). A short and interesting article.
78. Severin, Ernst (editor), *Svenskarna i Texas i ord och bild, 1838-1918*, Austin, Texas, 1918, 2 Vols. The first volume gives the history of the Swedish settlements in Texas and the causes of the Swedish immigration into Texas, and the second is devoted to biographies of prominent Swedes in the State.
79. Skarstedt, Ernst, *California och dess Svenska Befolkning*, Seattle, Wash., 1910. A history of the Swedes in California, their settlements, churches, press, etc.
80. Skarstedt, Ernst, *Oregon och dess Svenska Befolkning*, Seattle, Wash., 1911. Similar in character to the above.
81. Skarstedt, Ernst, *Oregon och Washington*, Portland, Ore., 1890. This work represents Ernst Skarstedt's first attempt as a popular Swedish-American historian.
82. Skarstedt, Ernst, *Svensk-Amerikanska Folket*, Stockholm, 1917. In this analysis of the Swedish-American people, Ernst Skarstedt is at his best and presents a valuable study from a sociological point of view.
83. Skarstedt, Ernst, *Vagabond och Redaktör. Lefnadsöden och tidsbilder, med förord af Jakob Bonggren*, Seattle Wash., 1914. An autobiography by the Swedish journalist, Ernst Skarstedt and a valuable source for the study of the Swedish-American Press after 1870.
84. Skarstedt, Ernst, *Våra Pennfäktare. Lefnads- och Karaktärsteckningar öfver Svensk-Amerikanska Tidningsmän, Skalder och Författare, med porträtter samt talrika utdrag ur den poetiska och humoristiska litteraturen*, San Francisco, Calif., 1897. This is undoubtedly Ernst Skarstedt's chief contribution to Swedish-American history. It contains short biographies of Swedish-American journalists, authors, and poets.
85. Skarstedt, Ernst, *Washington och dess Svenska Befolkning*, Seattle, Wash., 1908. This history of the Swedes in the State of Washington is of the same nature as his other "State Histories."
86. Söderblom, Anna, *En Amerikaresa*, Uppsala, 1925. In addition to being a "travel-book," it also contains a short review of the causes leading to the Swedish emigration to America.
87. Söderblom, Nathan, *Från Uppsala till Rock Island*, Uppsala, 1925. The Swedish Archbishop has in a remarkable manner stated his impression of America and especially of the Swedish-Americans.
88. Söderström, Alfred (editor), *Blixtar på Tidnings-Horisonten*, Warroad, Minn., 1910. A historical, critical and literary re-

- view of the Swedish-American Press. The historical treatment of the Press has not, however, been given sufficient space.
89. Stephenson, George M., "The Background of the Beginning of Swedish Immigration, 1850-1875," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 31. A careful analysis of the causes of the Swedish immigration.
 90. Stephenson, George M., *The Founding of the Augustana Synod, 1850-1860*, Rock Island, Ill., 1927. A scientific study of the early history of the Augustana Synod. Footnotes provide an extensive bibliography.
 91. Stephenson, George M., "Hemlandet Letters," Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-Book*, Vol. VIII. These letters show to a certain extent the interest of the readers of *Hemlandet* in their paper and also some points of dispute or disagreement with the editor, Hasselquist.
 92. Stephenson, George M., "The Mind of the Scandinavian Immigrant," Norwegian-American Historical Association, *Publications*, Vol. IV. A short article on the attitude of the Scandinavian immigrants toward America and American ideals.
 93. Stephenson, George M., "Some Footnotes to the History of Swedish Immigration from about 1855 to about 1865," Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-Book*, Vol. VII. Another article by probably the outstanding authority on Swedish immigration.
 94. Stomberg, A. A., "Early Efforts at Scandinavian Church Union in America," Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-Book*, Vol. IX. A historical sketch of early attempts among the Scandinavian Lutherans toward the establishment of a united Scandinavian Lutheran Church.
 95. Sundbärg, Gustav, *Sweden, Its People and Its Industry. Historical and statistical handbook published by the order of the government*, Stockholm, 1904. A dependable source of information on the economic conditions in Sweden during the last half of the nineteenth century.
 96. Sundbeck, Carl, *Svenskarna i Amerika, deras Land, Antal, och Kolonier*, Stockholm, 1900. A short history of Swedish immigration and the distribution of the Swedish settlements in the United States.
 97. Sundbeck, Carl, *Svensk-Amerikanerna, Deras materiella och andliga sträfvanden. Anteckningar från en resa i Amerika företagen med understöd af Svenska Staten*, Rock Island, Ill., 1904. The author relates his experiences and impressions on a journey to America undertaken in behalf of the Swedish government.
 98. Swanson, Roy W., "Some Swedish Emigrant Guide Books of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," Swedish Historical Society of America, *Year-Book*, Vol. XI. From this valuable

contribution to the history of Swedish immigration the reader becomes amazed at the great number of "Guides" published in the Swedish language.

99. Swensson, C. A., *Om P. Waldenströms Nya Färder i Förenta Staterna. Ett Svaromål*, Chicago, 1903. An answer to the accusations of P. Waldenström's *Nya Färder i Amerikas Förenta Stater*, in which the intense hostility of the Augustana Synod toward P. Waldenström is very evident.
100. Swensson, C. A. (editor), *Förgät-mig-ej. Fosterländsk och Luthersk Ungdomskalender för Jubelåret 1893*. The only importance of this calendar in this study is an article on Hasselquist by C. A. Swensson.
101. Swensson, C. A., and Abrahamson, L. G. (editors), *Jubel Album*, Rock Island, Ill., 1893. A Jubilee Album published in commemoration of the 200th anniversary of Uppsala Assembly, also containing a review of the work of the Augustana Synod.
102. Swensson, C. A., *I Sverige, Hemlandet's Premium*, 1890. In this book about Sweden, C. A. Swensson also speaks about the conditions in America, emphasizing the work of the Augustana Synod.
103. Swensson, C. A., *Again in Sweden, Hemlandet's Premium*, 1898. Although this work has no direct bearing on the thesis and deals nearly entirely with Sweden, it is not without value, and to the student of immigration, the short comparative study of the growth of various church denominations in Sweden is of interest.
104. Swensson, C. A., *The Swedes in America*. A lecture delivered in the amphitheater, Chautauqua, N. Y., Aug. 2, 1888. Topeka, Kans., 1889.
105. Swensson, C. A., *Vid Hemmets Hård. Läsning för fridstunder i familjekretsen*, Chicago, Ill., 1890. Religious literature for the use of the family circle. It contains in addition to this, literature on the Augustana Synod and Augustana College and Theological Seminary.
106. *Svensk-Amerikanska Pressen och Svenska Journalistförbundet i Amerika*, Rock Island, Ill., 1923. A short and inadequate history of the Swedish-American Press and the Society of Swedish-American Journalists.
107. Thomas, William Widgery, Jr., *Sweden and the Swedes*, Chicago and New York, 1892. The former ambassador to Sweden tries to characterize the Swedish people, and in this eulogy he has also sought to discuss the causes of the Swedish emigration.
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